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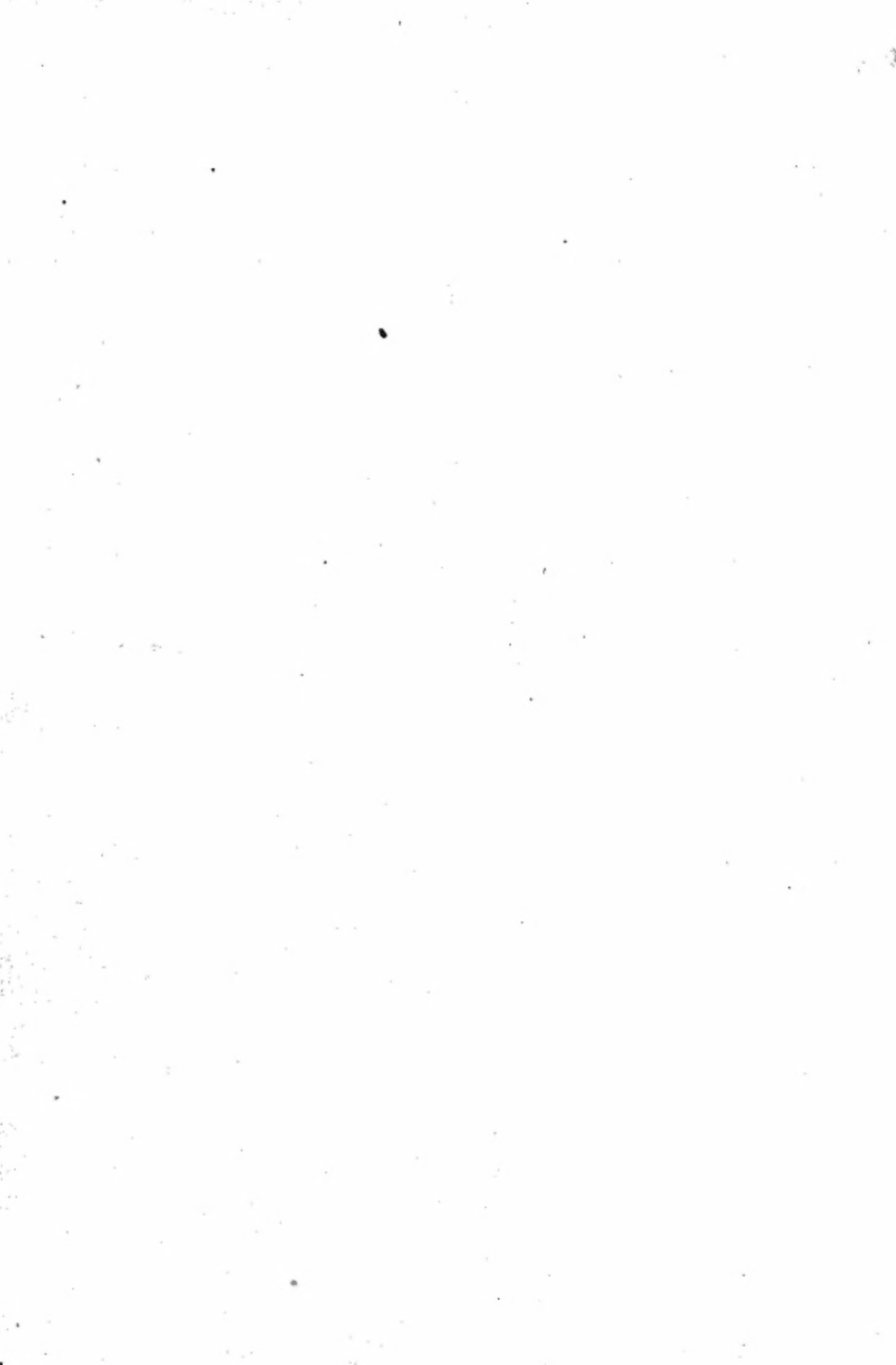
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EARLY EDITIONS OF JOHN FIELD

UNTIL recently the early editions of the works of John Field in the Music Room comprised only one quintet, five nocturnes, the sonatas, and a few miscellaneous pieces. The concertos, apart from one or two movements arranged separately for pianoforte solo, were lacking. Since 1951, however, with the co-operation of Mr. Cecil Hopkinson, forty-five first or early editions have been acquired. Field, who was born in Dublin in 1782, was the only British composer of his time to achieve international celebrity. As a boy he was apprenticed to Clementi in London and was playing the pianoforte in public as early as 1794. When seventeen, he introduced his First Concerto to London audiences, and a long continental tour followed from 1802 to 1804 under the aegis of Clementi, whose pianofortes he demonstrated. In the latter year he settled in St. Petersburg, and he spent the rest of his life in Russia when not on tour. He died in 1837.

Field composed mostly for pianoforte solo, and although some works were provided with accompaniments for orchestra or string quartet, these accompaniments are secondary and, in some cases, optional. He left seven concertos, four sonatas, about five pieces with string quartet, and a number of nocturnes, rondos, and fantasies on popular tunes. A few songs were published in his lifetime, but all appear to be based on his pianoforte works. This is a small output by the standards of the time; Clementi described him as 'a lazy dog'.

Field's music is historically important for its poetical qualities rather than for its contribution to the technique of pianoforte-playing. In sheer brilliance of style he did not outshine such composers as Hummel or Weber, and his concertos suffer by comparison with theirs because of his unwillingness to face problems of construction posed by larger forms. Much of his most personal music is to be found in these concertos, which declined in favour after his death, partly through lack of sympathetic interpreters. The nocturnes, however, equally popular in Field's lifetime, have never been wholly forgotten. This form, evolved by Field, was the direct outcome of the poetic style that was his real contribution to the Romantic movement in music, and it proved to be the ideal vehicle for its development. Liszt, Schumann, and Chopin were all enthusiastic admirers of his music, attracted by an intimate quality that they could not discern in Beethoven, Schubert, or Weber. In Chopin it is possible to find passages inspired not only by the spirit but the letter of Field's nocturnes and concertos.

Excepting the nocturnes, very little of Field's music has been reprinted in the last hundred years. Consequently, the difficulties of assembling a complete collection of his works in their various editions, or even discovering their dates (for which the advertisements sometimes conflict with the plate numbers) and total number, are unusual for so comparatively recent a composer. Very few autographs

are known. There is one of a nocturne in the 'Öeffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek', Berlin; others which have come to auction in London in the last few decades have been acquired by American libraries. No musical autograph is now known in England, nor is it at present possible to ascertain whether any are preserved in Russian collections. The printed editions present a curious problem. During his lifetime Field's works were printed by at least twenty-three publishers in Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and England. To judge from their present rarity, however, original issues were small. It is not easy to account for this; it may be presumed that, while a few people in each country remained interested in Field's work, his appearances in the concert hall were too infrequent to keep him in the public mind.

The most important of the Music Room's recent acquisitions are undoubtedly the concertos. These were never issued in full score and, rather strangely, do not seem to have been printed in Russia. Complete orchestral parts of the first six, mostly in the Breitkopf edition, have been acquired, with additional pianoforte parts published by Pacini of Paris. A Breitkopf pianoforte part to the Seventh Concerto has also been obtained, likewise the complete parts of two more quintets and various less-important but characteristic solo pieces. Some of these sets of concertos are likely to provide source material for a volume devoted to Field which is ultimately to be printed in *Musica Britannica*, a series published by the Royal Musical Association with the support of the Arts Council. The present revival of interest in the neglected composers of the early nineteenth century has created a fresh demand for Field's music.

He appears to have published about seventeen pieces under the title of nocturne, although some were extracted from concertos and other works. Their numbering, which is often contradictory even in contemporary editions, has become still further confused in well-known collections such as that edited by Liszt. The bibliographical history of these pieces cannot be discovered without examining an even wider range of editions than that offered by recent acquisitions. Most of the problems have now become clear, although further data are needed for their solution.

O. W. NEIGHBOUR

THE YELVERTON MANUSCRIPTS

NO more fitting addition to the rich historical collections of the Manuscript Department could have been made in the year of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and the bicentenary of the British Museum than the Yelverton Manuscripts (now Additional MSS. 48000-48196) acquired from Brigadier R. H. Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe, C.B.E., LL.D., and his trustees. On the one hand, the nucleus of this fine collection of 197 volumes, consisting of the papers of Robert Beale (1541-1601), Clerk to the Council of Elizabeth I, constituted the most important archive for the history of her reign in private hands, with the sole exception of the papers of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield; on the other, both in his approach to his official duties and in his private interests, Beale was in many respects a forerunner of Sir Robert Cotton, and his papers resemble in nature, if not in extent, the political papers in that larger and more famous collection, to which they are a most important complement.

The Yelverton Manuscripts, indeed, have long been known to students. Although for nearly four centuries they have remained in the private possession of Beale's descendants, their owners have always, with commendable public spirit, given access to accredited students, so that a succession of scholars from Strype to the present day has been allowed to study them. The detailed catalogue printed by the industrious Edward Bernard in his *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, in 1697, runs to no less than sixty-two pages; more recently some of the more important documents have been described in greater detail in the second report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Even so, the whole collection has not yet been systematically worked through, and, in the words of Professor Conyers Read, 'an adequate edition of these papers, or even an adequate calendar of them, is much to be desired'. In these pages, it will be necessary to restrict one's aim to indicating briefly some of the more important historical topics on which a detailed study of the collection would appear likely, from a hasty and cursory examination, to throw fresh light.

Robert Beale, in addition to serving as Clerk of the Council, was a diplomatist, distinguished civilian, author, antiquary, and scholar, and at times, during the absences of Sir Francis Walsingham, whose second wife's sister he married, acting Secretary of State. He is, however, best remembered for the leading part he took in the foremost drama of the reign of Elizabeth I. Between 1581 and 1584 he was sent on several occasions to negotiate with Mary, Queen of Scots, at Sheffield, and two years later had the unenviable duty of carrying her death-warrant to Fotheringay, and of reading it aloud in the great hall of the castle as a preliminary to the execution. Few historical documents could exceed in dramatic interest the two pen-and-ink sketches (Pls. I, II) of the arrangements for the trial and execution of the Queen drawn up on the spot, and provided with a

key to the seated commissioners in the hand of Beale himself. The events leading to this denouement and its aftermath are documented in detail in two large volumes (xxxi and liv) almost entirely devoted to the Scottish Queen and the conspiracies which centred around her—papers relating to the plots of the Duke of Norfolk and Anthony Babington, including the only known copy of some of the latter's confessions; long instructions signed by the English Queen and Walsingham to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Beale for the examination of Mary; draft accounts of their interviews with her and of her trial and execution; official copies of her letters, and original letters of her Secretaries Gilbert Curll and Jacques Nau; accounts of her trial and execution, with the printed proclamation for the declaring of the sentence against her, and a copy of her last will, with notes by Beale. Other volumes contain an important and urgent letter, partly in cypher, from Walsingham to Beale, giving an account of his reception by James VI on the occasion of his unwilling and futile mission in 1583 to dissuade the latter from negotiating with Spain on behalf of his mother; lists and addresses of English papists (vol. xxvi, fol. 110); and two copies (ibid., fol. 95; xxxiii, fol. 122) of an interesting report of an Englishman's adventures in Rome, 5 July 1579–17 May 1580, formerly thought to be by Thomas Norton, the part author of 'Gorboduc', but now identified as the diary of Charles Sledd, one of Walsingham's spies.¹ A vellum document (in vol. xxxi) drawn up in the name of the Earl of Shrewsbury and the other commissioners for the execution of the Scottish Queen, praying Elizabeth that an indemnity might be provided them by the recording and exemplification of their commission, testifies to their fears that they might become, like Burghley and Secretary Davison, victims of the English Queen's reaction and anger. The document, however, does not appear to have been sent, and the absence of Shrewsbury's signature probably explains the reason why it was cancelled by three chevron-shaped slits through the parchment.

The interest of these volumes, as indeed of many others in the Yelverton collection, is greatly increased by the many intimate and personal memoranda which Beale appended to some of the documents or jotted down as an *aide-mémoire*. To give but one example—of Burghley's relations with the Queen of Scots he notes:

The B. of Glasco the Scottish Q. Ambassador in France, had written vnto her, howe W. Cecill, sonn and heir to Sr. Tho Cecill had ben at Rome wth y^e Pope and reconciled: That their was good hope that the .L. Threr. his grandfather wold do her what pleasure he cold. Item in an other lre. he advertised her howe Sr. Edward Stafford her Mr. Ambassador in France, had showed vnto him a letter from y^e. .L. Threr: wherby he presumed that the said .L. Threr, dyd fauour her. These lres. cam to y^e. Q. My. knowledge: and the matter cam to y^e. .L. Threr. knowledge: w^{ch} for y^e purgacion of him self to be nothing enclined that way, made him as it is thought more earnest against her (vol. xxxi, fol. 465).

Throughout his official career Beale was from time to time freed from his duties for various diplomatic missions, and his papers testify to the zeal and

thoroughness with which he discharged them. His earliest post abroad appears to have been in Paris about 1564 where Walsingham, on his appointment as Ambassador to France in 1570, made him his Secretary. His mission to Flushing in 1575 to recover goods, partly the property of the Earl of Oxford, seized by the Townsmen, and a similar task the following year to secure the release of the Merchant Adventurers' fleet which had been detained by the Prince of Orange at Flushing were the first of a series which took him to the Low Countries and Germany. They were, too, perhaps, for Beale the beginning of an interest in the fortunes of the Merchant Adventurers there which resulted in a vast accumulation of documents and extracts from records relating to the Company and the Hanse. In addition to voluminous transcripts from official archives of the Middle Ages they include (vol. vii, pt. i, pp. 82 sqq.) a contemporary account of the Congress of Utrecht in 1473 between representatives of England and the Hanse, and a manuscript diary of the proceedings which was used for the text published by the Verein für Hansische Geschichte.² Events of the reign of Elizabeth are illustrated by a volume (vol. vii, pt. ii) supplementing Cotton MS. Galba C. II, relating to the Colloquy of Bruges called in 1565 to attempt a settlement between the Merchant Adventurers and the merchants of Antwerp, corrected drafts of original tracts by Beale on the disputes between Elizabeth and the Hanse, including discussion on the freeing of trade, original letters from German towns to the Queen, and from Lord Burghley and the Privy Council on the same topics.

In 1577 Beale was sent on a tour of the courts of the Lutheran princes of Germany, to plead the cause of the so-called Crypto-calvinists and to broach the subject of the possible formation of a Protestant League. Vol. xcii of the Yelverton collection contains his commission signed by the Queen, and his own draft of a proposed treaty with the German Protestants, in addition to original letters of the German princes and dukes, with long drafts of his own replies. Of even greater historical significance, however, are his valuable papers relating to the Earl of Leicester's activities and intrigues in the Low Countries, and Elizabeth's reluctant, sporadic, and half-hearted support of the Dutch rebels in the years before the Armada. The Earl had at the beginning of 1586 been installed by the States-General Governor of the United Provinces but had soon quarrelled with them and, after the summer's campaigns, returned home. Following military disasters early the following year Dutch commissioners came to solicit Leicester's return, but, after expostulating with them for their behaviour and treatment of the Earl, the Queen sent Lord Buckhurst to protest against the conduct of the Dutch government, to demand payment for the English troops and to inquire into the discontent in the provinces. Leicester was ultimately induced to return, with power to command the Dutch forces, and to demand authority to administer their war funds. With him went Beale, ostensibly to sit on the Dutch Council of State, but partly also, with Killigrew, to keep an eye on Leicester on behalf of

Walsingham. The Earl, however, failed to relieve Sluys which fell to Parma on 26 July. Later Beale was again employed in negotiations with the States in 1589, and in the following year, with Burghley and Buckhurst, was entrusted with the task of adjusting the accounts of Lord Willoughby's commands in the Netherlands; other minor missions followed. Of all these important historical events the Yelverton papers are a primary source of information. They include a volume (lxxxv) containing about thirty-five holograph letters from Lord Buckhurst to the Queen, the Earl of Leicester, and Walsingham; in other volumes (xc, xci, cxlii, cxliv) documents and accounts relating to the Dutch garrisons and forces and the futile expedition to relieve Sluys: long drafts of instructions in Burghley's hand: original letters from the States General and Count Maurice of Nassau to Queen Elizabeth and others; signed letters from the Queen to the States General: a copy of a journal kept during Leicester's first mission in 1585: and extensive drafts of letters, and a holograph diary of his travels by Beale. Documents of a similar nature equally illustrate Beale's final missions in 1599 to adjudge grievances of Danish merchants (vol. ciii), and in 1600 to treat for peace with the King of Spain at Boulogne (vol. xxxix).

If one may hazard a guess, however, it may well be that Beale's ecclesiastical papers will prove to be the richest mine of new material for the historian. His strong sympathies with the Puritan movement in England and on the Continent, allied to his profound knowledge of ecclesiastical history and civil and canon law, made him a formidable and doughty champion of their cause. 'I haue' he writes to his opponent Archbishop Whitgift (vol. xlv, fol. 44) 'by the espace of xxvj yerres and upwardes ben a Student of the Ciuill lawes, and longe sithe could haue taken degree, if I had thought (as some doe) that the substaunce of Learninge consiste the more in forme and title then matter. . . . In diuinitie I thincke I haue redd as much as any Chapleyn yo^r L. hathe.' This claim is substantiated by his tracts, both published and in manuscript, on procedure in ecclesiastical courts, on church ceremonies, on questions of divorce, the decline of religion and kindred subjects, which bear witness to his knowledge of the early fathers, the Canonists, and medieval authorities, no less than the writings of his contemporaries. His authority was recognized by Lord Burghley himself. In 1595 when the Lord Treasurer sought enlightenment on a number of questions relating to the exercise of Papal jurisdiction in England and the Empire (vol. cx, fol. 303), it was to Beale that he turned, and, in reply, eleven days later, received a long tract of some fifty pages (ibid. f. 304). 'I hartely thank yow', Burghley wrote 'for your lardy answers to my questions, perswadyng wth my self than (*sic*) few or non others cold so amply answ^r. the same' (ibid, fol. 328).

Beale's advanced views early on brought him into active opposition to the coercive policy of Whitgift and the efforts to enforce uniformity and ecclesiastical discipline and to stifle Puritanism. The Archbishop's inquisitorial measures as

exemplified in the stringent Articles of 1583, with the imposition of the so-called *ex officio* oath, and his famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on 17 November 1583 soon roused Beale to enter the fray. He violently attacked this policy in tracts which he sent to the Archbishop who, following further correspondence, reported him to the Queen and drew up a long indictment against him. Burghley was instructed to deal with the dispute and Beale was summoned to the royal presence (vol. xlv, fol. 47), but on 7 September 1584 he could write to Walsingham of the interview: 'I have been graciously used and hear no further of any pontifical complaints.' Drafts of the offending tracts, copies of the correspondence between the two disputants, and a copy of Beale's answer to Burghley (which was delivered orally) are found in volume xlv of the collection, together with copies of later Parliamentary petitions and proceedings on the powers of the Bishops.

The Archbishop's enmity did not deter Beale from further active support for the Puritan cause. His interest in the cases of the victims of Whitgift's policy is illustrated in volumes (xlv and lxx) containing transcripts of proceedings against ministers suspended for refusing the *ex officio* oath, and of papers relating to John Penry, John Udall, John Hodgkin and others concerned with the production of the Mar-Prelate pamphlets. Although he denied any connexion with this movement, his hostility to the inquisitorial powers of the Bishops created in him much personal sympathy with its aims. 'I doe mislyke his indiscreete wordes', he writes of Martin, 'but if his meaninge tende only to procure by lawfull meanes a better reformation then hathe he in truthe manie companions' (vol. xlv, fol. 65^b), and in 1589 he pleaded on behalf of one of its members, his ward John Hayles (nephew of his old schoolmaster), who had been imprisoned for harbouring a Mar-Prelate supporter (vol. xlv, fol. 63). With Thomas Cartwright, the principal advocate of the Puritan gospel within the framework of the established Church, and his chief henchman Humphrey Fenn, Beale appears to have had even closer relations. Cartwright he had met in the Low Countries in 1577 at a time when that divine was employed as a factor of the Merchant Adventurers at Middelburg. Three years later, when Fenn was suspended and committed with Cartwright and others for his part in the Puritan classical movement and refusal to take the oath, Beale wrote to the Archbishop on his behalf, offering to stand bail, enclosing a long historical justification of the attitude and conduct of the condemned (*ibid.*, fol. 74), and later drafted a petition to the Queen on behalf of all the accused (vol. lxx, fol. 159). A copy of Whitgift's examination of Cartwright with the latter's answers is also included (vol. lxx, fols. 220 sqq.). Finally among the many other papers showing Beale's close interest in the advanced religious movement we should mention a copy of the proceedings of the Lambeth Congress of distinguished laymen and clergy, including Puritans, for the reform of the Prayer Book in 1584 (vol. lxx, fol. 50), and the original minute-book of the Consistory of Italian protestant church in London 1570-1590 (vol. cv).

Other volumes of the collection relate to trade and commerce, the coinage, Ireland, and Parliament, in which Beale sat at various times for Totnes, Dorchester, and Lostwithiel. There were, indeed, few facets of Elizabethan life with which he, from his own private interest or as an industrious official, was not closely concerned. As befitted a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries his approach to his problems was strongly coloured by his reverence for historical antecedents. For his use as Clerk of the Council he copied out with his own hand a large volume of precedents (vol. clxi/2), and later compiled a detailed 'Treatise of the office of a Councillor and Secretarie', a copy of which is in volume clxi/1, for the use of Sir Edward Wotton. The breadth of his historical knowledge and learning is further illustrated in the numerous transcripts of medieval records, which are documented with a detailed thoroughness that would do credit to any modern research student. Their scope includes English, Scottish, and foreign chronicles; Glanville, Bracton, and other lawyers; Lyndwood, the canonists and the Church fathers; Statutes of the Realm, Parliamentary Rolls, Patent and Close Rolls, Gascon Rolls, and similar archives; printed tracts and broadsides, not only of England and Scotland, but also of France, Spain, and Italy. It is probably, too, this search for precedent which explains the presence in his collections of two of its most valuable volumes. The first (vol. xl) relates to the mission of Edmund (later Bishop) Boner and Richard Cavendish in 1535 to take possession of the castle of Warberg in Scania which Sir Marcus Meyer had undertaken to deliver up to Henry VIII, and later, on the failure of this plot, to cultivate a good understanding between the English King and the Protestants of Denmark and North Germany; it consists of instructions to the envoys, very lengthy drafts and accounts of their proceedings and negotiations sent to the King, and many original letters to them from Dr. Otho-Adam Pacaeus, known as Dr. Adam, Secretary of Lübeck. The second of these volumes (xlix) contains original correspondence, some of which has apparently never been printed, between Henry VIII and his Ambassadors in Rome and France on the subject of his divorce proceedings, 1530-1532.

On his death Beale left no son to succeed him. His elder daughter, Margaret, married Sir Henry Yelverton, Justice of the Common Pleas, eldest son of Sir Christopher Yelverton, Justice of the King's Bench. The papers of Beale and those of the Yelverton family thereby became inextricably mixed. At some time later they were bound in volumes, probably by Sir Henry Yelverton's great grandson Henry, 15th Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and Viscount de Longueville, to whom they had descended and whose monogram occurs on some of the covers. It was while in his possession that they were catalogued in Bernard. Though the Yelverton additions do not possess the outstanding historical importance of Beale's own papers, they are nevertheless of considerable interest. It was probably during the seventeenth century that the rich collection of transcripts of Venetian Relations of England and other countries, and the proceedings of

numerous Papal conclaves were added. As one would expect, parliamentary and legal collections—treatises on the Courts of Star Chamber, and other Courts of Justice, and proceedings of the same—are a prominent feature of these Yelverton additions. In the brief time that has elapsed since their acquisition by the Museum new material on the Parliaments of James I has been discovered in them by Professor W. Notestein, and a volume of speeches of Sir Christopher Yelverton (vol. cxxi) contains his own copy of the famous disabling speech on his election as Speaker of the Commons, in 1597, which convention demanded on such an occasion: 'The last, and yet (I assure you) not the least want that maketh me to fainte in this seruice is my timorous and fearefull nature, which at the uery name and thought of her Majesty's presence so trembleth, as I feare I shall fall downe amazed and dombe, when I shalbe presented to speak unto her' (fol. 16).

Lastly mention should be made of some seventeen manuscripts which were not listed in Bernard's catalogue. While generally of no outstanding interest, they include a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Chronicles of Martinus Polonus* from St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Appendix I); a dictaminal collection written by a scribe called 'Abendon' (Appendix II); and a fifteenth century collection of Statutes (Appendix XVII). A tract of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, '*Tranquillitatis animi preservatio et munimentum*' (Appendix III) may perhaps be the original dedication copy of Mary, Queen of Scots.

A final word remains to be said on the history of the collection after the death (1704) of the 1st Viscount de Longueville. Barbara, the Viscount's daughter, married Reynolds Calthorpe of Elvetham, and their daughter, also called Barbara, became the wife of Sir Henry Gough of Edgbaston, who was created a Baronet in 1728. The latter's son Henry succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1774, assumed the additional surname of Calthorpe, and in 1796 was raised to the peerage as Baron Calthorpe. It was thus that the Yelverton manuscripts came into the possession of successive Lords Calthorpe at Elvetham, and ultimately of Lady Rachel Gough-Calthorpe (eldest daughter and coheirress of the 6th Baron), wife of Sir FitzRoy Hamilton Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe, Bart. That the collection has not been broken up and dispersed in the auction room is due to the public spirit of their son Brigadier R. H. Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe who gave the Museum the first offer to purchase and so preserve them intact. This was made possible by the timely increase in the purchase grant allotted to the Trustees to prevent the export of artistic treasures and historical documents of national interest, and, for the latter category at least, there could be no happier justification of this action. Though in many respects the arrangement of the papers is haphazard and unsatisfactory, it has been decided that greater inconveniences to students would follow from a disturbance of an order which has persisted for over two and a half centuries; their present arrangement will therefore be preserved. B. SCHOFIELD

¹ Conyers Read, *Walsingham*, ii. 323.

² *Hansische Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 10, 1907, p. 140.

A SHEET OF DRAWINGS BY RAPHAEL

THE reappearance of a drawing by Raphael, which had been lost sight of since the eighteenth century, and its acquisition for the British Museum is an event which is worthy of record. The sheet in question¹ (Pls. III, IV*b*) has on the *recto* a study for the sibyl on the right-hand side of, and next to, the arch in Sta. Maria della Pace, Rome, with which it corresponds in all essential particulars.² Both drawings are in red chalk and each is drawn over a preliminary sketch made with the stylus. The earliest recorded owner of the sheet was Jonathan Richardson the Elder, whose mark it bears. It is presumably one of the drawings referred to in the Richardson's *Account of some of the Statues . . . in Italy*, 1722, p. 104 in much the same terms as in an inscription which has been detached from the old mount of the drawing in the handwriting of the elder Richardson. One of these remarks: 'This Figure has the same Peticularity, a sort of Stiffness about the Head and Neck as in this Drawing', contains an acute piece of observation, though the stiffness is perhaps more noticeable in the fresco than in the drawing. The principal difference between the two lies in the firmer and more natural way in which the woman in the drawing is seated: in the fresco she is uncomfortably sliding off the curve of the arch and the action of her right arm which should support her is unconvincing, whereas in the drawing it does perform this function. Though in this respect the study is superior, there are certain weaknesses in it also. The drawing of the left hand (different from that in the fresco) is uninteresting, lifeless, and hardly worthy of such a draughtsman as Raphael. That it and the rest of the drawing is from Raphael's own hand cannot, however, be questioned; the most cursory comparison of drawing and fresco makes it evident that the former is not copied from the latter. The only alternative would be to suppose it a copy or tracing from a lost drawing by the artist himself, but the underdrawing with the stylus makes such a supposition highly improbable, and the handling of the chalk and the whole appearance of the drawing, even its weaknesses, are eminently Raphaelesque. If it is not so completely satisfying a study as that in the Ashmolean, presumed to be for the same figure though differing considerably from it,³ it is nevertheless a work of real grandeur embodying as it does one of the noblest of Raphael's creations at the height of his career about 1514.

A. E. POPHAM

¹ It measures 26.2 x 16.7 cm.

² The fresco itself has recently (1953) been cleaned and is now much more clearly visible than it appears to have been in the time of Richardson,

who complains of its condition.

³ Reproduced Vasari Society, 2nd ser., iv (1923), No. 8.

DRAWINGS FROM THE REITLINGER SALE

IN addition to an important drawing by Correggio, of which some account will be given in a subsequent number of the *British Museum Quarterly*, other Italian drawings of considerable interest were acquired at the Reitlinger Sale at Sotheby's on 9 December of last year.

Perhaps the most important of these was lot 115, a study of a seated youth (Pl. IV*a*) by Timoteo Viti (1476-1523).¹ The interest of this admirable study from the model is enhanced by the fact that it was made expressly for the figure of St. Martin of Tours in the altarpiece now in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino, and that the Department already possesses a composition study for the whole picture.² In this, as in the present study, the figure is represented in contemporary costume and the correspondence between them is exact except for a difference in scale and in headgear. The more elaborate Reitlinger study would appear to have been drawn from the model first and the more schematic figure in the composition sketch copied from it on a reduced scale. The drawings in combination afford an interesting glimpse into the practice prevailing in a workshop in Urbino at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³ The interest is the greater from the association between Timoteo and Raphael and the similarity which can be presumed between the methods and practice of the two artists.

Two other drawings which were sold as lot 83, have a somewhat analogous, if lesser, interest for the Museum. They are studies by Bernardino Poccetti (1545-1612) for the large fresco representing the siege of the city of Bona in Barbary by Cosimo II de' Medici painted in 1608 for the decoration of the Sala di Bona in the Palazzo Pitti. The Department already possessed a small composition sketch for the left-hand half of this huge fresco.⁴ Of the two new drawings the one is a large and finished study also of the left-hand side of the composition.⁵ The difference between this and the fresco (with which the other British Museum drawing corresponds in its main lines) is so great that one might almost believe that another event was represented, especially as the type of drawing marks an advanced stage in the preparation of the design. Nevertheless, in both the assault on a fortress is the subject, and in both a man in the left foreground, similarly placed and posed, seems to point, rather unnecessarily, at the carnage in the background. The fact that the composition is closed on the right and that the large figure of Neptune (or a river-god) in the bottom right-hand corner seems to correspond with the figure in the right-hand bottom corner of the large oblong fresco, proportionately nearly four times as wide, suggests that the incident might at one time have been chosen to decorate part of one of the end walls of the hall rather than the large space which it now occupies.

The other⁶ is a study for the pointing figure already mentioned, who appears in the foreground of both drawings, with a figure behind to the left different from

any in either drawing. In both compositions this pointing figure clearly appears, but in the fresco, though his stance and gesture are substantially the same as in the drawing already in the British Museum, the pointing hand no longer points, but holds a lance. Obviously the development of one of Poccetti's most important works was not a simple one and a study of the two drawings from the Reitlinger sale in combination with the one already known may throw an interesting light on it.

A drawing by Gaudenzio Ferrari (about 1470-1546) of Christ sinking under the weight of the Cross, lot 45 in the same sale, is also a welcome addition to the representation of that artist in the Department.⁷ It is apparently of earlier date than any of the five drawings already in the Museum. The technique and the way the composition is packed with figures, with those in the background piled on top of those in front as it were, are characteristic of Gaudenzio's earlier period and of many of the panels forming the great ancona of 1507 in St. Maria delle Grazie, Varallo. Though the subject of *Christ carrying the Cross* is of course represented there it is treated in quite a different manner and there is no indication of the exact purpose for which the Reitlinger drawing was made. Though Gaudenzio Ferrari is one of the best documented of Italian artists, no satisfactory study of his work has so far been published and the allocation of drawings between him and his pupils still demands critical examination.

Other drawings from the Reitlinger Sale require only the briefest mention. They include (lot 27) two striking studies of heads by Domenico Beccafumi (about 1486-1551). These studies, painted in oil on paper, represent a type of preparatory drawing peculiar to Beccafumi and show him at his most attractive. One of these heads, that of a bearded man, appears to have been used for a man on the left of the octagonal fresco of the decapitation of Spurius Cassius on the ceiling of the hall in the Palazzo Comunale at Siena. Nothing has so far emerged about the woman's head. The two remaining drawings acquired at the sale, respectively by Battista Franco (lot 46) and by Francesco Morandini, Il Poppi (lot 67A), are of minor documentary interest. The attribution of the drawing of the *Birth of St. John the Baptist* to Poppi (about 1544-1597) a Florentine follower of Vasari, based on the entry in the manuscript catalogue of the collection of Sebastiano Resta (Harley 803), to whom the drawing belonged, is confirmed by the style.

A. E. POPHAM

¹ Presented by the National Art-Collections Fund. Black chalk on yellowish paper, heightened with white, 26.3 x 17.8 cm. From the collection of Count Gelosi (Lugt 545). Published and illustrated by J. Byam Shaw in *Old Master Drawings*, xiii (1938), pl. 40.

² 1895-9-15-606. Illustrated in O. Fischel, *Die Zeichnungen der Umbrier*, Berlin, 1917,

fig. 317.

³ The picture was painted for the chapel of St. Thomas and St. Martin in the now destroyed cathedral at Urbino. A contract was signed on 15 April 1504, between Timoteo Viti, who undertook the altarpiece, and Girolamo Genga, who undertook the rest of the decoration of the chapel, and the heirs of Bishop Giampietro Arrivabene,

who had bequeathed funds for this purpose and is represented kneeling on the right of the altarpiece.

⁴ 1859-3-16-1081, mentioned by H. Voss, *Spätrenaissance*, Berlin, 1920, p. 372 note.

⁵ Pen and brown ink and brown wash, squared for enlargement in black chalk, 47.3 × 31.9 cm.

⁶ Red chalk over a rapid sketch in black chalk,

35 × 22.5 cm. From the collection of Paul Sandby (Lugt 2112).

⁷ Shaded with the point of the brush and washed in brown on a greenish ground (once blue?) heightened with white. 21.6 × 18.2 cm. Exhibited at the Royal Academy *Drawings by Old Masters*, 1953, No. 77.

GREEK COINS

WE here describe and illustrate (Pl. V) some Greek coins recently acquired by the Department of Coins and Medals.

The first five pieces are silver staters of Corinth and her colonies: these pieces, together with others of similar type, probably all come from a large hoard of Corinthian coins reported to have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Corinth. The hoard is likely to have been buried during the Peloponnesian war, as the coins date from the period immediately preceding its outbreak (431 B.C.).

The basic type is uniform—obverse: Pegasus in flight; reverse: head of Athena. 1 is a rare variety with a cockleshell symbol on the obverse: 2 and 3 are of exceptionally fine style, 2 having a trident symbol behind Athena's head and 3 having a wreath of olive around her helmet. 1-3 have the archaic *Koppa* on the obverse, denoting Corinth. 4 is a new variety of the colony of Ambracia (letter A on obverse): here a wreath of olive leaves forms a circular frame for the head of Athena. 5 shows a most interesting variation, Bellerophon riding on Pegasus, a design not previously found on the stater, though something like it appears on smaller denominations. In addition, both sides of the coin have a letter P in the field, the initial of a colony or town using Corinthian-type coins, whose identification is not yet certain, though Palairos in Acarnania has been suggested.

6 and 7 are gifts to the Department by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. 6 is an entirely new electrum coin of Ionia dating from the early sixth century B.C. The type is the helmeted head of a warrior, the reverse an irregular incuse punch. The weight of the coin (1.30 gm.) is a twelfth of a stater (hemihekte) of the Phocaic standard, and on that basis should be attributed to a mint in northern, rather than southern, Ionia. But that is not in itself conclusive, since the type (as Mr. Robinson points out) recalls the warrior's head on silver coins generally attributed to the island of Calymna, which may indicate a more southerly origin for the new electrum piece. 7 is an attractive silver stater of the mid-sixth century B.C. bearing the type of a gorgon's head (with plain punch reverse). It has been suggested¹ that the coin may be an early issue of the island of Melos: this may well be true, as it was found at Melos, and so is in any case likely to be a coin of one of the Aegean islands. The weight (14.02 gm.) would be no obstacle to the attribution, for

it agrees with the weight standard followed by the Melian coins of the fifth century.

8 is another coin from the Aegean islands, a very rare silver stater of the fourth century B.C. struck at Ios. The reverse is simply the ethnic inscription enclosed in a wreath; but the great interest of the coin lies in its obverse, which presents the earliest known portrait of Homer, accompanied by an identifying inscription *Omerou*. The portrait continued to be used on the coins of Ios in later periods: the island claimed by tradition the burial-place of the poet.

9 and 10 are two important acquisitions from the range of coinages related to Carthage and her dependencies. The first, a silver tetradrachm issued in the name of the 'Libyans', belongs to the coinage of the great revolt (241 B.C.) from Carthage of her mercenaries and Libyan subjects—events which are familiar from Flaubert's 'Salamambo'. The minting authorities of the revolt made considerable use of existing Carthaginian coins to re-strike with their own types: on our new coin we see clear traces of this. On the obverse, showing the head of Zeus, the inscription *Libyon* on the right has been partially effaced by the persistence of part of the original type, the Carthaginian horse, whose hindquarters, upside down, are still visible. Similarly on the reverse, the new type, a butting bull, has failed to obliterate completely the head of the goddess Tanit, which formed the original type and of which traces (again upside down) are visible at the bottom. 10 is a silver hexadrachm (six-drachma piece) struck at Carthago Nova (Carthagera) during the period when the successors of Hamilcar Barca were extending Carthage's dominion over southern Spain (c. 230–209 B.C.) The horse with palmtree on the reverse is a traditional Punic emblem, but what are we to say of the obverse? Formally, it can be identified as the head of Melqarth, the Phoenician Heracles, by analogy with another series of coins where virtually the same head is accompanied by the club of Melqarth: but at the same time one cannot escape a strong impression that the heads on all these pieces are equally intended as portraits. In that case we may, with all necessary reserves, claim that our hexadrachm gives us the features of either Hasdrubal (founder of Carthagera) or, more probably, of Hannibal. The minting of such coins from the silver of the famous Carthagera mines will have played its part in providing Hannibal with the 'sinews of war' for his invasion of Italy.

11 is a new and unique silver tetradrachm of Athenian type (*Head of Athena/ owl*), but in place of the Greek legend it has an inscription in Egyptian demotic—the first known occurrence of this script on a coin. It is inscribed in the name of Pharaoh Tachos² (361–359 B.C.), whose sole extant gold coin—also of Athenian type but inscribed in Greek—was added to the Museum's collection in 1926 and published by Sir George Hill in the first number of the *Quarterly*. Together the two pieces, made from precious metal extorted from the temples, represent the only surviving ancient coins minted expressly in the name of a native Egyptian

ruler. Tachos, as is well known, made extensive use of Greek mercenaries for his attempt to participate in the revolt of the Persian satraps, and it may well have been to pay these troops that gold was minted. It is more doubtful whether this explanation will cover the silver issue with the demotic legend, which may represent an attempt to introduce a currency for general use, modelled on those Greek coins which were most familiar in Egypt in the pre-Ptolemaic period: for actual coins of Athens reached Egypt in quantity during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and some may actually have been minted there.

12 is a small bronze coin of Hyspaosines of Characene (c. 141-120 B.C.): the first of this king's very rare issues to be acquired by the Museum. It would scarcely have been identifiable but that a specimen with a legible inscription had previously been found at Dura-Europus:³ it was thought that the obverse of the Dura coin showed only one head, but from our specimen it is clear that there are two heads side by side. The nearer head must be of Hyspaosines himself: the other, which is bearded, may be that of his father Sagdodonacus. The reverse type, Pallas, is imitated from the Seleucid coinage.

Finally, the Museum's already unsurpassed collection of coins of the Hellenistic Bactrian kingdom has been further enriched by the acquisition of some silver tetradrachms which evidently must have come from one of several recent finds of such pieces reported from Afghanistan. Four pieces are illustrated (13-16), typical of that fine and masterly portraiture, which compensates to some extent for the almost total loss of the kingdom's history. The Agathocles coin (13) should date to about 180 B.C., the remaining pieces are near to 150 B.C. or later. The reverse of Agathocles (13) shows Zeus standing, holding in his right hand a small figure of the three-headed Hekate 'of the Three Ways': interpreted by Sir William Tarn⁴ as denoting Agathocles' lordship over Alexandria-Kapisa (north of Kabul), where meet the three routes over the Hindu Kush from Bactria. A novel feature of this coin is the inclusion of Agathocles' title *Dikaios* (*the Just*), used on his 'pedigree' coins but not previously found on his ordinary issues. 14, Demetrius II, has the reverse type Pallas standing, facing, with spear, helmet, and shield. This king must, it is now clear, be a son or other relative of that other Bactrian Demetrius, the 'grete Emetrius King of Inde' whose fame somehow survived until the time of Chaucer, and who on his coins appeared wearing the elephant-scalp of Alexander. The portraits of the two kings are quite distinct. 15, Eucratides II: likewise distinct from the other and greater Eucratides, known to history and whose emblem on coins was the Dioscuri riding. This coin is of the rare type showing, on the reverse, Apollo standing, with bow and arrow, and a semicircular inscription including the title *Soter* (*Saviour*). 16, Plato: a new and fine portrait of an obscure king with perhaps more than a trace of similarity to Eucratides II; we may deduce, tentatively, that Plato was a member of the same family. His reverse-type is Helios the sun-god in a galloping chariot: his

high-sounding title *Epiphanes* (*the God manifest*) being an evident borrowing from the Seleucid Antiochus Epiphanes. In the exergue are two letters which cannot, as was once thought, express a date in the Seleucid era: if they are not the initials of a mint-controller, they may form a date of some other unknown era, though this would be without parallel in the Bactrian coinage. G. K. JENKINS

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1939, p. 19.

² Our grateful acknowledgements are due to Professor S. R. K. Glanville for the interpretation of the legend.

³ A. R. Bellinger in *Yale Classical Studies*, viii.

53 ff.

⁴ *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 158.

TWO EGYPTIAN PLASTIC OBJECTS OF THE NEW KINGDOM

THE Egyptian Department of the Museum has recently acquired two objects formerly in the collection of Professor F. W. Freiherr von Bissing. The first, a plaster face in the Amarna style (No. 65517, Pl. VI), measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. from chin to brow and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the face at eye level, was obtained at Amarna, the ephemeral capital city of Egypt during the reign of the king Akhenaten (1370–1352 B.C.). The person represented cannot be identified by name, but some member of the royal family of Akhenaten is clearly intended, possibly (to judge by its small size) one of the young princesses. In general the cast of the features and in particular the droop of the chin, the pursed lips and the delicate almond shape of the face in front-view are quite characteristic of the family type. The style is naturalistic, without any of the gross caricaturing of the features commonly found in Amarna portraiture. The modelling of the features is delicate and sensitive, the eyes and brows being suggested rather than carved in detail. Some damage has been done to the nose and chin, but otherwise the face is complete. In side-view it bears a close resemblance to a flat sandstone profile in the Museum collection (No. 37615), thought to be a profile of Akhenaten himself.

In itself the object is complete; the edge above the brow is flattened and smooth, but the back of the face is rough and unfinished. A group of somewhat similar plaster faces and heads from Amarna, most of which were found in a house called the 'House of the Sculptor' were formerly in the Berlin Museum.¹ These faces were probably sculptor's studies and it is thought that they were prepared from moulds made from mud originals modelled either naturalistically from life for private persons or from statues or memory for royal personages. In the present case, however, the absence of detail in the features suggests that the object may have been cast from a mould made on the face of the subject itself. In character it resembles closely the so-called death-mask of Akhenaten, found by Petrie at Amarna.² Of the latter Petrie points out that it 'comprises just as much of the face . . . as can be taken in one casting'. The same would be true of

this new acquisition. The lack of definition in its features is consonant with such a manner of production. But it shows no sign of later touching up, though this is claimed for the face found by Petrie.

The second object is the bottom of a pale-green glazed composition bowl decorated inside and outside with designs in relief (No. 65553, Pl. VII). The piece consists of the whole of the bottom of the bowl apart from a small section containing the right-hand lower part (as viewed) of the face of Bes. This section, which extends down and to the right from the right nostril, has been made up with plaster in modern times. Only a small part of the rising sides of the bowl remains and it is not possible to reconstruct its original shape. In width the object is 5 in. and in length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., the measurements being taken on the side bearing the representation of the face of the god Bes, whose characteristic features are represented in very high relief. The eyes alone are left flat and blank, and it is probable that they were originally inlaid. The underside has in the centre a small rosette, the middle of which was originally black. Around the rosette is a ring of spiked flowers, probably lilies. Outside this ring comes a register containing a frieze of animals—a gazelle, an antelope, a lioness, an ostrich, an ibex, a camel, and another antelope. Between the second antelope and the gazelle is room for one animal in the restored section. This procession of animals is surrounded by a striated line and beyond this line the sides of the bowl begin to rise. The small parts of these sides which remain bear traces of a further procession of animals with a lotus flower introduced at one point.

Objects in glazed composition with decoration of this kind from Egypt are not uncommon from the New Kingdom onwards. This form of decoration in relief is more to be expected in metalwork than in faience, and it is probable that the Egyptian glazed composition examples are derived from metal originals—types developed in the first instance more probably in Asia than in Egypt.¹ The Museum collection has one fine complete glazed composition bowl with friezes of animals and birds on the inside, dated to the XXXth Dynasty (No. 57385). The present example, however, from the colour of the glaze and the details of the representation of Bes is to be dated more probably to the XVIIIth–XIXth Dynasties.

T. G. H. JAMES

¹ For photographs and a discussion of many of these casts see an article by H. R. Hall in the *Illustrated London News*, 1927, 469–71. For a full description and an account of the probable method of production, see G. Roeder, *Lebens-große Tonmodelle aus einer altägyptischen Bildhauerwerkstatt* in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 62 (1941), 145–170.

² See W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, frontispiece and p. 40.

³ See F. W. von Bissing, *Untersuchungen über die 'phoenikischen' Metallschalen* in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 38/39, pp. 180 ff., in which the present object is discussed among others.

BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES,

1753-1953

IT seems hardly possible to make a continuous story of the acquisition in 200 years of the very miscellaneous collections amassed by a rather amorphous department, and the best plan appears to be to abandon any such attempt and to call attention to the most important and best-known items. Accounts of the various sections are written by the members of the staff immediately in charge of them.

A. B. TONNOCHY

4. PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ACQUISITIONS

As Sir Thomas Kendrick has recently pointed out,¹ the 'foundation stone' of the Museum's collection of British Antiquities was the hoard of Iron Age bronzes found near the earthworks at Stanwick, Yorkshire, in 1844; the bulk of these were presented by Lord Prudhoe, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in 1847. Very few noteworthy prehistoric antiquities were in the Museum before this time; apart from the Gray's Inn hand-axe, which came with the Sloane collection and is notable for its historical interest rather than its archaeological value, the Polden Hill hoard of Iron Age horse-gear and the Drummond Castle armlets alone are conspicuous. That the earliest important objects in the collection were fine Celtic bronzes may have been natural enough; they aptly foreshadowed the remarkable wealth of such objects which now distinguishes the collection. The Desborough Mirror, the Snettisham Treasure, the Witham and Battersea shields, the Thames and Meyrick helmets, and the Aylesford bucket are familiar to archaeologists of every country.

The splendid flagons from Basse-Yutz, Moselle, acquired in 1929, are in the same category, though earlier than any of the objects from Britain, and the Morel collection, purchased in 1901, is notable for the series of antiquities excavated from Celtic chieftains' graves in the Marne area.

If prehistoric antiquities, at least of the less showy kinds, were little appreciated before the 1840's, it was otherwise with Roman antiquities, even those provincial specimens found in Britain. Thus the marble Luna from Woodchester, the bronze figure, perhaps of Nero, from Barking Hall, Suffolk, the colossal head of Hadrian from the Thames, the Ribchester helmet, and many other such objects, including even the barbaric little deities from Southbroom, Wiltshire, were all acquired before 1850. In 1856 the Romano-British collection was immensely enlarged by the purchase of the Roach Smith collection of Roman antiquities from London and elsewhere. In the same year a fragment of the Bronze Age gold péytre or corselet from Mold, Flintshire, came to the Museum; other pieces of the same object have been acquired at intervals since, the last being in 1927.

The interest in the earliest stages of human development which accompanied the publication of Darwin's and Huxley's theories is reflected in two important acquisitions during the 60's of carvings, engravings, and other objects from Bruniquel and from various French rock-shelters, the latter group forming part of the Christy collection. In 1919 the Stone Age collection was augmented by the great Sturge Bequest, consisting of flint and stone implements from all over the Old World, and a series of important acquisitions in the 1930's represent Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites excavated by modern methods in England and Palestine. Special interest, however, attaches to the remarkable series of objects of bone, antler, and flint, besides perishable materials such as birch-bark, excavated from the Mesolithic settlement at Star Carr, Yorkshire, and acquired in 1953.

Two outstanding collections remain to be mentioned. The first of these is that of Canon Greenwell, consisting largely of British Bronze Age antiquities, including those from his own excavations in barrows, such as the carved chalk drums from Folkton Wold. This collection was mainly acquired in two parts, the first as a gift from Canon Greenwell in 1879, and the second as a gift from J. Pierpont Morgan in 1909. The greater part of the second collection, that of Henry Durden, was purchased in 1892. It consists of Dorset antiquities, including many from the prehistoric and Roman forts on Hod Hill. It is hoped that an historical and archaeological background will be provided for these by the current excavations on this site, which are being directed for the Trustees by Professor I. A. Richmond. If it is to such excavations that we now mainly look for advances in archaeological knowledge, finds like the Mildenhall Treasure, which was ploughed up during the last war and acquired as treasure trove in 1946, show that many remarkable British antiquities still await discovery by chance.

J. W. BRAILSFORD

b. ANGLO-SAXON AND FOREIGN TEUTONIC ANTIQUITIES

In King Edward VII Gallery, its lively intaglio figures illuminated from a tilted mirror, the *Lothair Crystal* hangs peacefully against a background of light blue cloth. Its history has been anything but peaceful. In the tenth century, and again at the time of the French Revolution, it was involved in acts of sacrilege and violence. It is a lenticular rock crystal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and illustrates in eight scenes, with accompanying texts from the Apocrypha, the story of Susanna. Manuscripts apart, it is the most outstanding antiquity of the post-Roman barbaric Dark Age era to be acquired by the Trustees before the creation in 1866 of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities. It was bought in 1855, by special grant, for £267, a considerable sum for the time, especially since its former owner, Ralph Bernal, M.P. (at whose sale at Christie's it was acquired) had got it for £10 from a Bond Street dealer, who had himself bought it in a

Belgian junk-shop for a song—10 francs. Today it would fetch a great price, both as a unique and fascinating object and one of the most important expressions of the Carolingian renaissance, and for the sake of its remarkable history. A contemporary chronicle describes how it came into the possession about the year A.D. 950, of the Abbey of Waulsort, near Dinant, on the Meuse. A bellicose Count (Eilbert) pledged it with a Canon of Rheims by way of a cash transaction for a horse. When the Count came to redeem the pledge (it seems that he had abstracted the jewel illicitly from his wife's casket) the Canon denied ever having received it. The Count's violent reprisals culminated in his setting fire to Rheims Cathedral, from which at the last moment the Canon was driven out by dense smoke into the arms of the Count's men. The crystal was found upon his person. This sacrilege led the Count into war with Charles the Simple, in which he prospered, taking the King prisoner; in his later years the Count, turning to good works, gave the crystal to the Abbey of Waulsort, one of his foundations. There it stayed until it disappeared at the time of the Revolution. In the 1840's or early 1850's a fisherman hooked a strange object from the bed of the Meuse. It was the Lothair crystal, now cruelly cracked across the middle. From the fisherman it went to the junk-shop. Its eventful life has not wholly ceased with its lodgement in the Museum. It spent the recent war in an underground repository in the West Country and in 1950 was displayed, and part of its story told, to millions in the first series of television programmes from the British, indeed from any, Museum. The crystal derives its name from its central inscription *LOTHARIUS REX FRANCORUM FIERI JUSSIT*, probably Lothair II, 855-69.

The *Franks Casket*, one of the most remarkable objects in the Museum, was a gift, as its name implies, from Sir Wollaston Franks, the Department's first Keeper, who presented it in 1867. It had been in use as a workbox by a French family in Haute Loire. One end, which was missing, subsequently came to light in a drawer, and is now in the Bargello in Florence. It is a whale-bone box, the lid 9 by 7½ inches, carved with runic inscriptions and a strange mixture of crowded scenes from Northern and classical mythology and Roman history, with a Christian Adoration. The origin of the box is suggested in that part of the runic inscription which has been rendered 'the sea (*fisc flodu*) lifted the whale's bones on to the mainland; the ocean became turbid where he swam aground on the shingle'. The sources of its iconography and of its artistic narrative style remain a puzzle. It stands alone. But it is a confident, strong, and masterly creation. The startling juxtaposition on the front of the Casket of the Adoration of the Magi with the gruesome scene in Weland's forge, where the smith is at the anvil making a drinking-cup out of the skull of one of King Nithad's sons, the headless body on the floor, and the King's daughter and her attendant looking on, is clearly deliberate. The casket when properly understood will certainly appear as one of the crucial art-documents of a crucial locality and period, the

Northumbria of c. 700 A.D. It has also figured prominently in literature of runes. The casket has just been dismantled in the Research Laboratory for minor adjustments, and perspex substituted for the beechwood that replaced its missing parts.

In 1880 the Department was presented by Mr. J. J. Rogers with the bulk of the Saxon silver treasure (there had been gold pieces, but only one survived) found in 1774 at Trewhiddle near St. Austell in south Cornwall. The burial of this important hoard of decorated metal-work can be dated by its 114 silver pennies to about A.D. 875. Apart from its ecclesiastical interest (the silver chalice is the earliest surviving piece of English ecclesiastical plate, and the complete four-tailed silver wire scourge virtually unique) the hoard has now given its name to a distinctive style of ornamentation found all over England, many more examples of which have come to light since the *Trewhiddle Hoard* was found, a style which also influenced the art of Scandinavia. In Cornish archaeology the hoard stands in complete isolation; apart from pottery stone and bone objects and implements typical of highland zone cultures, from settlement and monastic sites, no other archaeological materials of the period (if one excludes the famous Cornish stone crosses) exist, the only other metal objects being a few Saxon silver coins.

In 1883 the Department acquired as a gift from the Rev. Charles Whiteley, Vicar of Taplow, Buckinghamshire, fifty-nine objects from the burial deposit of the barrow at Taplow, 'Taeppas Low', the monument of a pagan Saxon chieftain. Apart from its well-known pieces—the gold buckle and two pairs of gold clasps, the drinking-horns, Coptic bowl, and glass claw-beakers—this barrow contained less significant or less recognizable remains of much else of interest. Until the discovery of the Sutton Hoo burial in 1939 it was the show-piece of pagan-period Saxon archaeology, its richest grave, and the measure of the level of wealth and culture attained by the pagan Saxons. Now dwarfed by the Sutton Hoo royal burial, it nevertheless retains its full interest as a chieftain's grave and as a key monument in archaeological research and interpretation for its period. It is characteristic of a complicated find of this kind, consisting largely of organic and fragile materials, beyond the technical experience or competence of its time to conserve or elucidate, that it should constantly reveal new secrets to fresh scrutiny. Since about 1937, when the drinking-horn mounts were cleaned, and their true importance appreciated by Sir Thomas Kendrick, laboratory examination has confirmed the strict contemporaneity of the three distinct styles of animal ornament upon them ('the work of one man')—the textile patterns have been restored, the glass beakers reconstructed, at least on paper, and the remains of the earliest European harp recognized amongst its metal fittings and remains of wood. But the Taplow barrow conceals many more secrets: for the fact is that although the material has been in the Museum for seventy years, the find has not yet been published, although individual pieces have been illustrated, nor have the

crushed and fragmentary materials been worked over in detail or received the measure of laboratory elucidation, conservation, and restoration now possible. It is a big task, but one which must be undertaken before long.

The last acquisition to be selected for special mention in this field is the carved oak stem-post of a Viking ship, dredged from the Scheldt estuary with the ship's timbers, and purchased for £1,000 in 1938 with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund and the Christy Fund. It is the only extant example of the famous 'dragon heads' that terminated the Viking ships. It is a pity that more attention could not have been paid at the time of discovery to the ship's timbers, for the structure of the boat itself might have made clear the date of our carved post. As Sir Thomas Kendrick did not fail to see, it has Migration-period feeling, and may in fact, though no doubt from a Danish vessel, pre-date the Viking era. It is the most important relic of the Vikings, or their immediate forbears, to be seen outside Scandinavia.

Most outstanding of all has been the Sutton Hoo Ship-burial of 1939, our first royal grave of the Saxon period. The literature on this is already extensive. It need only be mentioned here to recall this dominating find of European pre-eminence and profound historical interest, and the fact that it was not treasure trove, but came into the Trustees possession as the outstandingly generous gift of the landowner, Mrs. E. M. Pretty.

R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

G. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AND MEDIEVAL AND LATER COLLECTIONS

It is not surprising that the momentous and exciting events taking place in Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman archaeology during the first hundred years of the Museum's life resulted in but few acquisitions finding their way into the Early Christian, Byzantine, and Medieval collections. It was not, in fact, till the new building replaced Montagu House in the 1840's, that it was thought desirable to make provision for a permanent exhibition of the Medieval collection, which already included such fine pieces as the Sloane Astrolabe, the wall-paintings from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, given by the Society of Antiquaries in 1814 and the twelfth-century ivory chessmen found on the Isle of Lewis, purchased by the Trustees in 1831. Among the few early acquisitions that were on view to the public before the new 'Medieval Room' was opened in 1851 were Roubiliac's statue of Shakespeare, bequeathed by David Garrick (it arrived after the death of his widow in 1822) and the statue of the sculptress, the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer by Giuseppe Caracchi (given by Lord Campbell before 1824), which shared the Entrance Hall with, among other things—'a fine Hippopotamus'² or Dr. Dee's magical show-stone of the Sloane collection, which was shown as a geological specimen among the rock crystals of the Natural History Department.³

It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that the departmental collections saw their most rapid expansion. At the Bernal collection sale in 1855 purchases included the late medieval 'Lochbuy Brooch' and an important series of sixteenth-century Limoges painted enamels, as well as medieval ecclesiastical plate. In 1856, not only the Roach Smith collection of London antiquities, but the Maskell collection of Early Christian and Medieval ivories were purchased. The former included important series of minor medieval antiquities and the latter may be said to have founded the Museum collection of ivories. When the Maskell collection arrived, there were, apart from the Lewis chessmen, only three ivories of importance already in the collection. One was the sixth-century leaf of a diptych of the Archangel Michael, the second a Carolingian panel with scenes from the New Testament (both had probably arrived with Cottonian library as part of the foundation collection), and the third the cylindrical reliquary given by Dean Conybeare of Llandaff in 1855, which even after nearly 100 years at Bloomsbury has not been given a definite date or provenance. To gain an idea of the range and magnificence of the Maskell collection, one need only, out of a collection of 170 pieces, mention the panels of two early fifth-century caskets, the fifth-century pierced 'Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera', several important Carolingian panels, the English eleventh-century double-sided comb, the twelfth-century flabellum handle and such Gothic work as a large statuette of the Virgin and Child and a casket with romance subjects, both of the fourteenth century.

The next important collection to be incorporated in the department was that of watches bequeathed by Lady Fellows in 1874. This, together with the extremely fine collection bequeathed by Octavius Morgan in 1888 gave the department a very comprehensive collection in this field. Octavius Morgan had already in 1866 given the magnificent clock in the form of a ship made by Hans Schlottheim of Augsburg for the Emperor Rudolf II, and his bequest included not only the Isaac Habrecht clock made at Strasburg in 1589 and the Bartholomew Newsam clock as well as very important watches, but also a representative collection of scientific instruments.

In 1878 General Augustus Meyrick presented a large, if rather miscellaneous collection, which formed the residue of the Meyrick-Douce collection sold by auction two years previously. It nevertheless contained some fine pieces, such as a twelfth-century bronze-gilt candlestick and, especially, Mosan and Limoges enamels, of which the Museum was by then building up a considerable collection. The lid of a ciborium had been purchased in 1850, and the two semicircular Henry of Blois plaques were bequeathed by the Rev. H. Crowe in 1852, both probably English and of twelfth-century date. The fine Mosan altar cross attributed to Godefroid de Claire was acquired in 1856 and in 1859 the rare early thirteenth-century casket of Limoges provenance decorated with secular scenes,

was purchased. Further Mosan panels were given by Sir A. W. Franks in 1884 and 1888.

One of the most important collections was the bequest of Sir Wollaston Franks received in 1897. It is difficult to single out individual items either in this bequest or in the many gifts made by Franks during his lifetime. He was instrumental in securing for the Museum probably the most important single acquisition ever made by the Department, the Royal Gold Cup of the Kings of France and England, purchased in 1892. The Franks bequest is specially notable for jewellery, particularly of medieval date, the magnificent collection of finger-rings⁴ and Silver Plate⁵ which ranged from Carolingian bowls to the sixteenth-century Globe cup and beyond. The bequest also added considerably to the collection of Early Christian silver. It brought the Carthage treasure and further parts of the Lampsacus treasure, of which a portion had been given by Earl Cowley as early as 1848 and parts had been purchased in 1886.

The Early Christian collection had to wait even longer for recognition than the medieval. It was not till 1866 that the Museum Guide first mentions Early Christian antiquities as a separate part of the exhibition in the Medieval Room—occupying only one corner of a table-case. It consisted mainly of the gilded glasses from the Catacombs which had been acquired in 1854 and 1863. The small exhibition of 1866 was to be immediately enlarged with the great late fourth-century silver treasure found in the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1793, which was purchased with the Blacas collection in the same year. Two years later the famous Cologne bowl of gilded, silvered, and painted glass arrived with the Slade collection of glass. In 1899 another silver treasure, that of Cyprus, was purchased. The collection has had further important additions in this century of which the excavated finds from Wadi Sarga in Egypt are perhaps the most important; they arrived in 1919. The collection of Byzantine jewellery, the foundations of which were so well laid by the Franks Bequest, was considerably enriched by the generous gift of a fine set of jewels and ornaments by Mrs. Burns in 1916, and the collection of silver plate has had additions in a fine sixth-century chalice from Aleppo purchased in 1914, and, quite recently, a magnificent late fourth-century silver vase with Christian figure-subjects, purchased with a large contribution from the National Art-Collections Fund in 1951.

In 1898 came the Waddesdon Bequest composed of antiquities of many countries and periods, which are exhibited together as laid down in the will of the donor Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, M.P., a former Trustee of the Museum. The majority of the objects in a collection of great variety and importance are of medieval and later date.⁶

The large bequests and gifts by private collectors were less frequent after the turn of the century. The opportunities for collecting were steadily diminishing, prices were soaring and collectors did not command the means they had enjoyed

during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was a sign of the times that in 1901, under the auspices of Sir Hercules Read, an anonymous group of donors was formed, known as 'The Friends of the British Museum', which in 1903 was merged with the National Art-Collections Fund, which has recently celebrated its jubilee.

But there were still munificent donors. We may mention the late medieval set of Spanish altar plate, given by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1911, the Barwell Bequest of a large number of important painted sixteenth-century enamels of the Limoges school in 1913, and the Borradaile Bequest of 1923, which added such pieces to the collection as the tenth-century Byzantine triptych, a very fine Gothic triptych of the early fourteenth century, an early thirteenth-century German copper-gilt chrismatory, and a slender French silver-gilt tabernacle of the fourteenth century. The magnificent gift in 1927, by the late Mr. Mill Stephenson, of seal-dies, mostly seventeenth century and later, from the collection of Lt.-Col. G. B. Croft Lyons, may complete the tale.

P. E. LASKO

¹ *Museums Journal*, li, No. 6 (Sept. 1951), pp. 139-40.

² *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, 29th edition, 1835, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Finger-rings*, by O. M.

Dalton, 1921.

⁵ *Catalogue of the Silver Plate*, by C. H. Read and A. B. Tonnochy, 1928.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest*, by C. H. Read, 1902.

d. EUROPEAN CERAMICS AND GLASS

Although the collection of European ceramics dates largely from the arrival of Franks in 1851 and that of European glass from the death of Felix Slade in 1868, there were specimens of English porcelain and pottery in the Department long before those years. We need only mention the two Chelsea vases painted with scenes from the Death of Cleopatra, given by an anonymous benefactor in 1763, the year after that in which they are known to have been made, the Bow bowl, accompanied by a document signed 'T. Craft 1790', which was found by Franks in a cupboard in 1851, the Wedgwood 'Pegasus Vase', given by Josiah Wedgwood in 1786 and the copy of the Portland Vase given by John Wedgwood in 1802. The gifts of Franks during his lifetime ranged over the whole field of European ceramics and the published catalogues of English Pottery and Porcelain by R. L. Hobson, dating respectively from 1903 and 1905, are a worthy tribute to the catholicity of his taste, since between them they comprise an entirely representative collection of English ceramics as they were known at the time. Among gifts received since the death of Franks, those in 1909 of Wedgwood ware from Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Falcke and in 1921-3 of

Worcester porcelain from Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lloyd have enriched the collections of those two sections to an almost embarrassing extent, since it is impossible to exhibit more than a small fraction of either gift in the small space at our disposal in the King Edward VII Gallery, although we are always delighted to give serious students access to the objects in reserve. The Frank Lloyd collection was admirably catalogued by Hobson in 1923. The Wallace Elliot Bequest in 1938 brought an influx of over a hundred pieces of English pottery and porcelain of paramount importance; its owner, a collector of discrimination, realized that neither we nor the Victoria and Albert Museum would wish to possess the whole of his ceramic possessions, and as the result of his characteristic thoughtfulness the two London museums have materially benefited, while the sale by auction of the residue raised a substantial sum for his heirs. Of individual acquisitions since the death of Franks three should be specially mentioned; the slipware dish with the arms of Charles II, lettered 'Thomas Toft', which was bought twice by Lady Wernher at the Red Cross Sale at Christie's in 1916 and given to the Museum at the same time, the Chelsea group of the Roman Charity after Rubens, given by the Viscount Bearsted in 1927 through the National Art-Collections Fund and the Chelsea *pot-pourri* vase with a figure of Meleager after Rubens, a companion to one with a figure of Atalanta in the Franks collection, which was bought in 1930 with a fund raised by the Lord Fisher and given through the National Art-Collections Fund.

Frank's collection of continental porcelain did not become the property of the Museum until after his death in 1897, but he had previously lent it to the Bethnal Green Museum and a catalogue by himself was published in 1896. The most important addition to it was made in 1923, when the Viscount Dillon presented a collection of porcelain from German and other factories in memory of his son. Neither Franks nor Dillon was interested in Sèvres porcelain, and in view of the richness with which that subject is represented at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Wallace collection it was felt impossible to expend public money for the acquisition of specimens for Bloomsbury. We are now handsomely equipped, thanks to the generosity of two collectors. Mr. Charles B. O. Clarke, who died in 1935, bequeathed us two vases of the rare 'jewelled porcelain', while Sir Bernard Eckstein, Bt., who died in 1948, left us a collection of over fifty pieces, together with a specimen of 'Henri Deux' ware, hitherto unrepresented in the Museum, and a choice of twenty pieces of German and English porcelain from his collection. Besides the contributions of Franks the Museum collections of continental pottery, including maiolica and Hispano-Moresque ware, were materially benefited by purchases at the Bernal sale in 1855 and by the bequest of Mr. John Henderson in 1878.

Franks also contributed to the collection of glass, though the most important benefactor was Felix Slade, who was born in 1790 and who died in 1868, and of

whose bequest to the Museum a catalogue, compiled by Franks and with an introduction by Alexander Nesbitt, was privately printed in 1871. Many pieces also were bought at the Bernal sale.

WILLIAM KING

A GREAT BUDDHIST MONUMENT REVIVED

WHEN the Museum collections were being taken from the galleries for safe storage in 1939, a cheering thought was that drastic clearance might one day make possible some radical improvements in arrangement.

In the event, shortage of gallery space and government policy in the timing of reconstruction of the Museum buildings have severely limited the improvements which it has so far been possible to make. But there is one which must have been apparent to any visitor to the Museum during the past four years who knew the collections before 1940. By steady stages which may have seemed slow to the layman, the members of one of the greatest body of sculpture in the Museum have taken shape in new relation in that part of the Front Hall which used to be known as the Hall of Inscriptions. (Pl. VIII.)

These sculptures from the Great Stūpa (or Tope, as it used to be called) at Amarāvati had been shown ever since their arrival in the Museum in 1880 on the Main Staircase; and might therefore be reckoned one of the best-known exhibits in the building. It is a fact, however, that, covered by glass and boxed with japanned black wood, they looked in that light like chalky casts. For this their condition is partly responsible; for they had had a hard life since they were unearthed at various different dates between 1816 and 1845, and this their constitution had not been able to stand. The masons who cut the slabs of greenish white crystalline limestone at the quarries in the Kistnā valley, and the sculptors who carved the Buddhist symbols and scenes on them in the second and early third centuries A.D. ran a great risk in 'bedding' them wrongly—that is with the horizontal strata placed vertically in the monument. Lamination has as a result occurred. But even worse has been the loss of the weather-hardened surface when exposed to the extremes of climate in the London docks, the stables of Fife House in Whitehall, and an open porch at South Kensington. Most of the pieces have once more reached stability during the seventy years they have spent in the Museum, and the best opinion is that they would now gain rather than lose by exposure to the freely circulating air in our building.

That being so, it was decided to attempt a reconstitution of a section of the monument they once adorned. Since this was circular in plan, it was evident that there would be some distortion, although it would not be very great in a length of 20 feet out of a total circumference of over 800 feet. The position chosen

allows of a good cross-light from three large west windows, in itself a great gain over the top-lit staircase. Then, the ample proportions of the Hall give the scale needed, while the Reading Room itself with its diameter of 140 feet approximates very closely to the Stūpa drum, which measured 138 feet. The arrangement of the facing slabs round the drum and at the bottom of the spring of the dome can be deduced from the representations of stūpas which were placed along the lowest register, with engaged pillars in the intervals. Four of these stūpa slabs have consequently been placed against the north wall; above them at about eye-level comes a frieze of figure sculpture, 16 inches deep, the most elaborate and carefully executed on the entire monument. This marked the top of the drum; above, the dome was set back several feet, represented in the reconstitution only by a symbolic 5 inches, before the next register of facing slabs. This was in four parts, three superimposed panels surmounted by a frieze of trisuls, the whole being 11 feet in height. Above that height where the curve of the dome increased, the surface was covered only with fine white plaster with stucco enrichment, none of which, naturally, survives.

When the monument stood in its glory it was the greatest centre for pilgrimage in the Deccan or South India, and the processional path must have been well worn for centuries by the faithful circumambulating it in a clockwise direction. As was usual, the path was itself surrounded by a stone fence; that is, a great construction in stone treated as if it were carpenter's work with tenoned uprights and mortised cross pieces, lenticular in section and decorated with roundels. An elaborate masonry structure of this kind standing 9 feet high was already employed at Bharhut about 100 B.C. The Amarāvati fencing was even taller. In the new installation, in which for the first time it is exhibited free standing, it has been necessary to raise the butt ends of the uprights to a height equal to the largest surviving, which has added 2 feet to the height; so that to get a true view of the monument, the spectator should stand on a step of that height. This would bring his eye about level with the centre of the middle range of medallions which is the most richly decorated part of the railing on the inner face. The outer face, which is that now first seen from the Museum entrance, is decorated only with lotuses and dwarfs and with bands of decorative motives of high quality. Several of these uprights had been applied to the wall and the outer carvings consequently completely inaccessible since 1881.

Space has also been found in the Hall for the display of eight other facing slabs, which may have once adorned the dome.

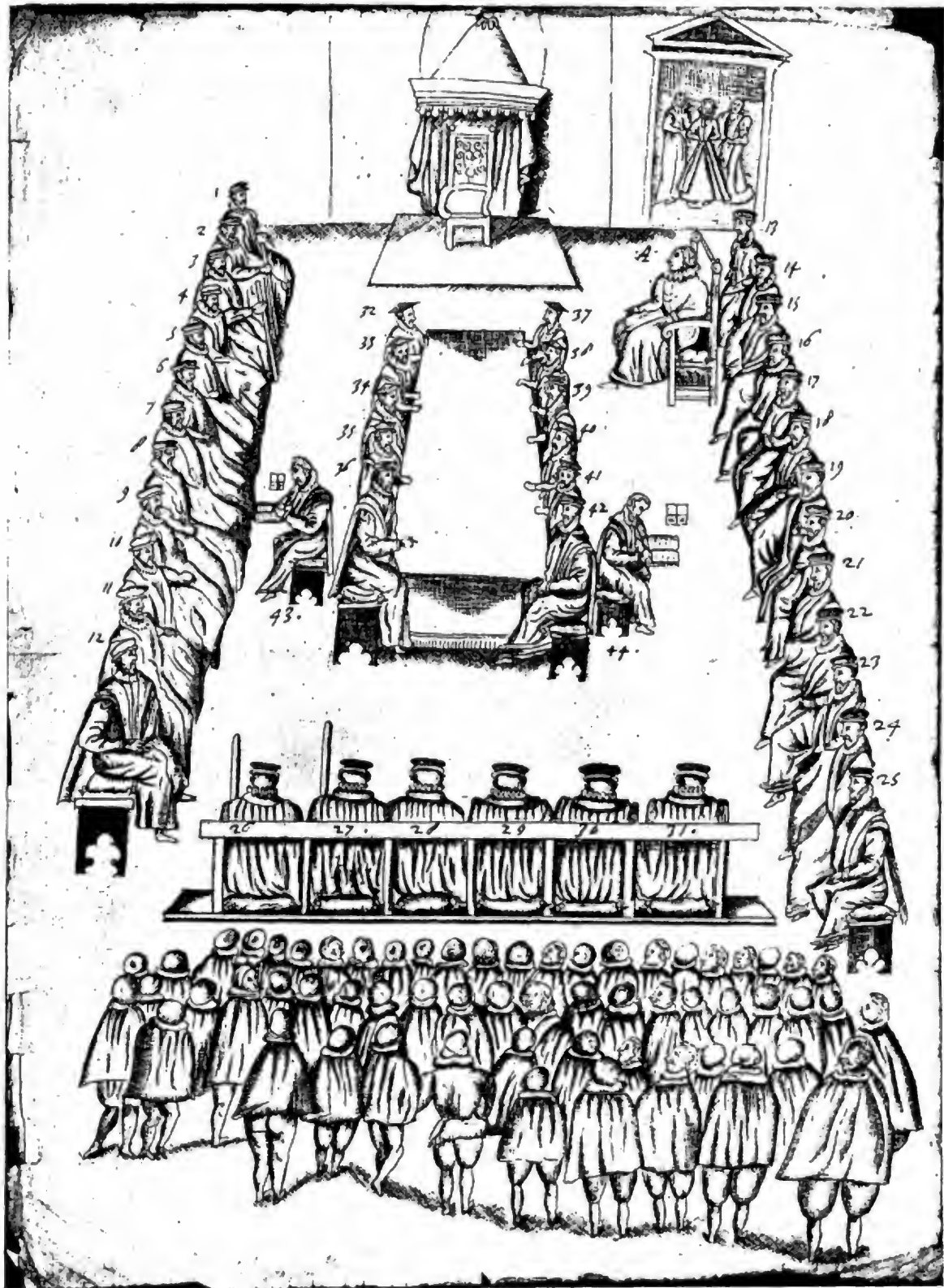
Upstairs in the Indian Room there have been installed a further ten pieces from Amarāvati which are thus placed in their proper context in the series illustrating the development of sculpture in India. One of the most important of these shows a recarved facing slab, important evidence for the history of the monument. There are also portions of two other coping friezes, and of a smaller

type of rail pillar. There are also two examples of the later development of the school of Amarāvati in the eighth to ninth centuries.

Concurrently with the new installation of the sculptures there have proceeded preparations for an official publication. Many of the sculptures have been rephotographed under more favourable conditions than has been possible previously: much has been learnt about the methods of work as it was sought to rebuild into a single unit fragments which no doubt came from different parts of the vast structure. It has needed great skill and ingenuity for the mason, Mr. Philipson, to marry posts and bars of different dimensions. We know that it was the practice at the time of the building for pious donors to dedicate separate parts of a stūpa. Perhaps the work proceeded by fits and starts, or, as is more probable, it was hurried so that no clerk of works could keep control; whatever the reason, the variation in all dimensions is considerable. The text of the monograph, both introduction and catalogue, has been prepared by Mr. D. E. Barrett, Assistant-Keeper in the Department, and it should appear almost simultaneously with this note.

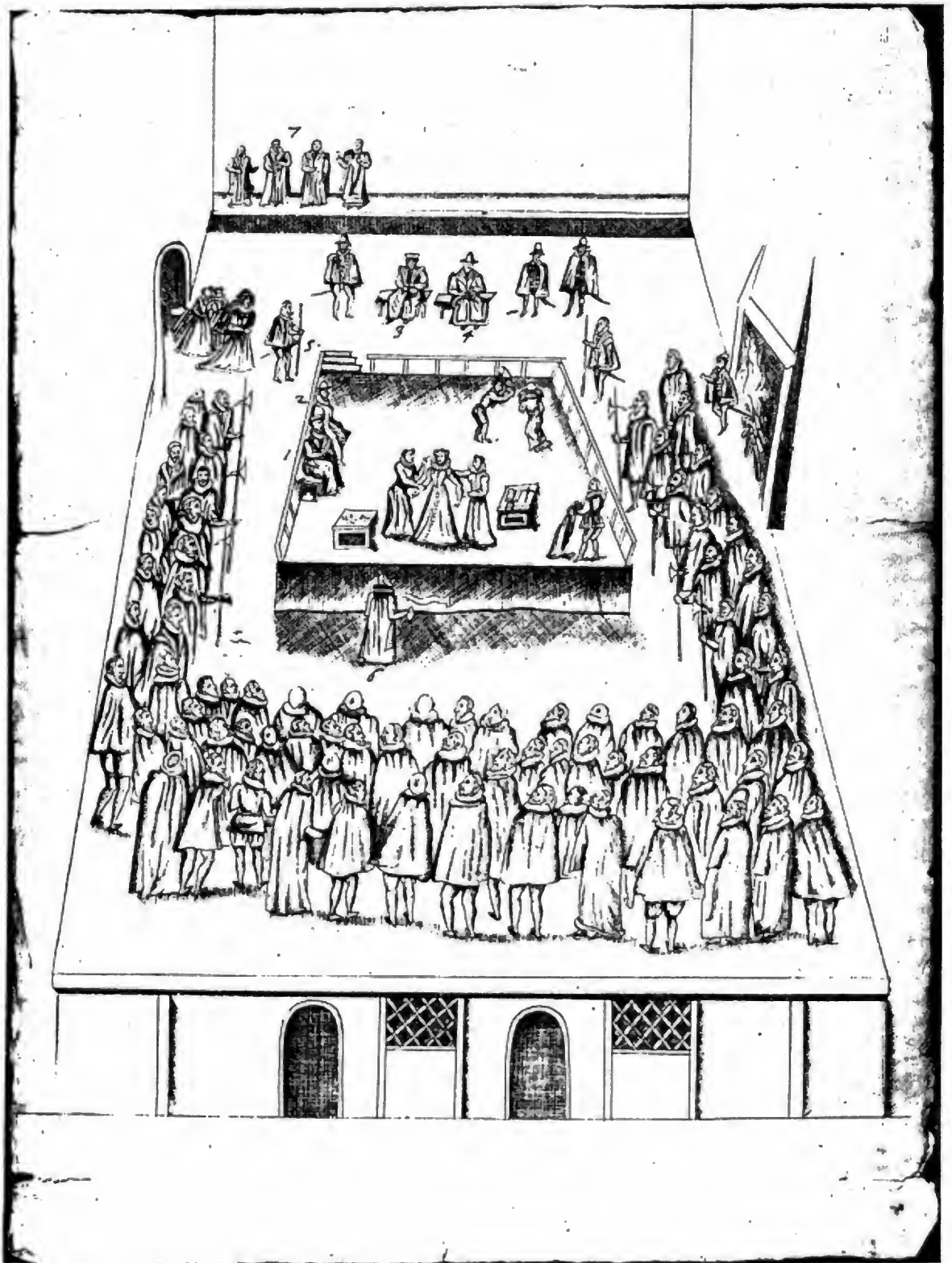
After a period when it was difficult to find much interest except in 'archaic' styles of art, taste is now swinging once more towards an appreciation of the complex and dynamic. A recent general work on Indian art sees in Amarāvati the apogee of Buddhist art in India, and the moment is therefore ripe for a re-estimate of one of the greatest treasures which the Museum houses. It is the only important relic in this country of two centuries of British dominion in India and of the archaeological work carried out there under British direction. Its collection belongs to the period of investigation and salvage of Indian monuments which preceded the establishment of the Archaeological Survey in 1862. This was before the development of current standards and science of archaeological investigation, but it is literally true in this case that much that is now preserved in the Museum would have been completely destroyed but for the enlightened action of Colonel Mackenzie and Sir Walter Elliot. India has in the Madras Museum a larger and better-preserved series from this site, while other great Buddhist monuments in the neighbourhood have been excavated, and others will no doubt yield their treasures to future investigators. It is, however, appropriate that the public of Britain and the Western hemisphere should be able to gain some idea of the development of Indian sculpture in one of its finest examples, and that it should be possible to compare it at close quarters under the same roof with work representative of the other great civilizations of the world from contemporary Rome and China to Assyria and Egypt. The year 1953 should in this respect be a landmark in the history of the Museum, and in the study and appreciation of Indian art in this country.

BASIL GRAY



I. TRIAL OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE, 14, 15 OCTOBER 1586

Tolbert Manuscripts



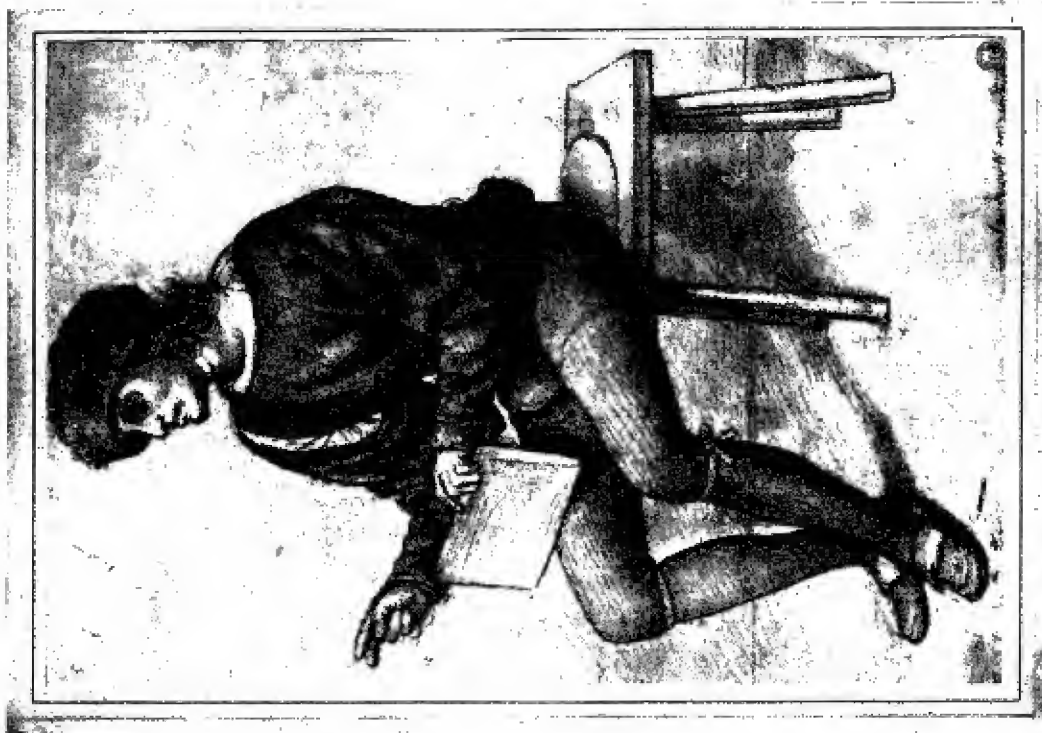
II. EXECUTION OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, IN FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE

8 FEBRUARY 1587

Telexton Manuscripts



III. DRAWING BY RAPHAEL. Study for one of the Sibyls in Sta. Maria della Pace



IV. a. DRAWING BY TIMOTEO VITI. A Seated Youth



b. DRAWING BY RAPHAEL. (verse of drawing illustrated on pl. III). Study of draped legs





VI. EGYPTIAN PLASTER FACE, PERHAPS A DEATH-MASK
from Amarna, XVIIIth Dynasty



a



b

VII. BASE OF A GLAZED COMPOSITION BOWL

Egyptian, XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasties

a. *Inside* b. *Outside*



VIII. THE NEW SETTING FOR THE AMARAVATI SCULPTURES IN THE MAIN ENTRANCE HALL

JACOBITE LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS

THE British Museum has received by gift from Miss Gertrude Schlich a collection of over a hundred Jacobite and anti-Jacobite leaflets and pamphlets, almost all of them published in Scotland. The collection was the joint property of Miss Schlich and the late Miss D. K. Broster, having been given to them some twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago by the late John Macdonald of Moon Hill, Farnham. His gift was a considered compliment to Miss Broster, who wrote, among other works, a very successful trilogy of historical novels on the Forty-Five, first published 1925-9, and since then frequently reprinted.

The collection includes a series of a dozen proclamations by the Stuart princes, ranging from 1714 to 1748. In a proclamation of 29 August 1714 from Plombières the Pretender protests against the accession of George I, and describes himself as 'the onely born Englishman now left of the Royal Family', perhaps to Scottish sensibilities a somewhat tactless remark. A copy of this proclamation is among the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, and it has been reprinted in the *Culloden Papers*. A proclamation of 25 October 1715 from Commercy is remarkable for the fact that it refers to Charles I without employing the usual convention of describing him as 'the blessed martyr'. The omission of the phrase is known to have given great offence to Lord Bolingbroke; but rather than admit that his grandfather was a blessed martyr, Prince James Stuart preferred to bear the palm and halo himself. A different edition of this proclamation appears to be in the Stuart Papers at Windsor, and it has been reprinted in '1715' by A. and H. Tayler, 1936. The proclamations by Prince Charles Stuart from Holyroodhouse are headed 'Charles Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland', and are characteristic of a man who confidently expected loyalty and affection, and who, expecting these things, found them.

Three of these leaflets are written by Lord Lovat, whose activities as a publicist and newspaper paragraphist are described in Robert Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*. These three leaflets comprise a letter 'concerning the Defeate of the Rebells at Inverness', which must have been written in November 1715; a letter to Duncan Forbes of Culloden dated 29 October 1745, which differs considerably from the version of the same letter published in the *Culloden Papers*; and a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, dated from Fort William, 16 June 1746, in which Lovat writes, 'I often carried your Royal Highness in my arms in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-Court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you.'

The collection includes three contemporary accounts of the battle of Sheriffmuir, of which two are dispatches from the Duke of Argyle's army and the third is Lord Mar's account of the battle, reprinted in Robert Patten's *History of the late Rebellion*. The material on the battle of Culloden consists in part of typical

wartime lampoons, in which Prince Charles Stuart or the Duke of Cumberland is insulted. But it includes also the *Authentic Account of the Battle fought on Drum-mossie Muir near Culloden*, which is reprinted, evidently from an imperfect copy, in James Allardyce's *Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period*, and an important anonymous pamphlet, *A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden, in a letter from an officer of the Highland Army*. This was written by Lord George Murray, who as a leader of Highland infantry is ranked with Claverhouse and Montrose.

For the rest, among much other material there are two pamphlets relating to Dr. Archibald Cameron, hero of Miss Broster's novel *The Gleam in the North*, who was executed in connexion with the Elibank plot in 1753. He was the last Jacobite to take what the song calls the 'low road' to Scotland.

R. G. LYDE

MANUSCRIPTS AND PAPERS OF ROBERT SOUTHEY

IT is not likely that much of Southey's voluminous output is read today. His memory indeed is probably kept alive only by a few of his shorter poems and by his letters. The recent republication of his *Letters from England*, however, should have done something to remind people what an excellent writer Southey could be, and in Latin America he is much more than a memory by reason of his *History of Brazil*, of which a new translation was undertaken by the Brazilians to commemorate the centenary of his death in 1943. Southey deserves attention for several reasons: first, as an outstanding example of an all-round man of letters in the first half of the nineteenth century, secondly, because of his relations with Coleridge and Wordsworth and other of his literary contemporaries, and lastly for his own sake. Some of his personal characteristics—a perhaps over-conscious sense of duty and a certain rigidity in his political and religious opinions—are, it is true, not of a kind to commend him to modern readers, but on the other side are intellectual energy, industry, and kindness and generosity. He occupies at any rate a central position in the history of early nineteenth-century literature and it is important that in the national collections there should be as wide a selection of his manuscripts as possible. Already before 1953 the British Museum was fortunate in this respect: as a letter-writer he was represented not only by individual letters but by at least two important series (to his brother Thomas and to his friend Charles Danvers), while his poetical work was exemplified by the early poem, 'Joan of Arc', by 'The Curse of Kehama', which Saintsbury considered the best of his epics, and among the shorter poems by the 'Cataract of Lodore'.

This collection has now been enriched by a generous gift of manuscripts of his literary works and letters from Southey's great granddaughter, Mrs. Ellen Annette Boulton. Included in the new material (which has been grouped in ten volumes, Add. MSS. 47883-92) are notebooks containing poems in the autograph of Caroline Bowles, who became Southey's second wife in 1839, and some letters addressed to her by Walter Savage Landor; apart from these items, however, all the manuscripts are in Southey's autograph. On the literary side are the epics 'Madoc' and 'Thalaba the Destroyer'; of the former there is the draft of the portion which was written in the summer of 1794 and was revised (according to Southey's note in the manuscript) between 22 February and 9 March 1797, and of the latter there is the draft of the whole work, the progress of which can be followed by the dates inscribed in it—it was begun at the home of Charles Danvers at Kingsdown, in Bristol, on 13 July 1799 and was finished at Cintra 19 July 1800. The famous 'Vision of Judgement' is represented by a fair copy with a few verbal alterations (some in pencil). Among lesser works may be noted 'The Devil's Walk'; this is in the original autograph draft, a fact of some importance because the poem was at one time attributed to Porson, over whose name it was republished in 1830. It was in fact composed by Southey with Coleridge at Nether Stowey and published anonymously in the *Morning Post*, 6 September 1799. The circumstances of his rediscovery of the manuscript are described by Southey in two letters of 11 and 12 December 1826 addressed to Caroline Bowles, both in the present gift. Among non-poetical literary works may be noted the original draft of his 'register of some fantastic dreams' as he described it, again in a letter to Caroline Bowles, 'noted down', he added, 'as you may well suppose, not superstitiously, but for their strange combinations'. It is, however, the letters which form the richest part of the gift and these include at least three long series—to his first wife, Edith, 1799-1831; to his daughter, Edith May (after 1834 the wife of the Rev. John Wood Warter, who edited the four-volume *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey* in 1856), 1819-35; and to Caroline Bowles, 1818-29. Among the recipients of smaller groups of letters may be mentioned his brother Thomas, 1798-1830, and Charles Danvers, 1797-1814, the letters to these fitting in happily with those to the same correspondents already in the Department.

C. E. WRIGHT

TWO DRAWINGS OF CORREGGIO

THE Department has been fortunate in being able to acquire during the past year two drawings by Correggio to add to the important series already there. One of these,¹ the design for a fountain, was entirely unknown, though it had at one time formed part of the collection of Jonathan Richardson the Elder. Its subject illustrates a phase of Correggio's activity which has not hitherto been recognized. Though the drawing, when it recently appeared on the market from France, bore the name of Benvenuto Cellini, there can be little doubt that Richardson, as well as George Knapton, to whom it appears subsequently to have belonged, regarded it as the work of Correggio. That it was lot 289 in the latter's sale of 27 May 1807 seems almost certain. The entry in the catalogue reads as follows: 'One—a ditto [design] for a fountain, *curious*, ditto [= red chalk]—R [= Jonathan Richardson].' It was sold for £2. 3s., but the purchaser's name is not recorded. The description of the sheet as *curious* is significant for its identification with the present design. No normal work of Correggio's would surely be so described, but the word is appropriate to the mechanism of the fountain of a type which was extremely popular with Renaissance artists and of which many examples could certainly be cited. The interest of the drawing lies, however, in the fact that it seems indubitably to illustrate Correggio's early phase of development at some time before he undertook his first important work in the Camera di San Paolo probably about 1518. The type of the three shameless *putti* on the fountain and even more of the *putto* standing above, is undoubtedly that of the child angels who descend to take part in the Brera *Nativity*. They show something of the drooping stance characteristic of Lorenzo Costa, whose influence on Correggio's early development has often been noted. Though they anticipate it, they have not yet developed the robust, Raphaelesque form of the *putti* in the Camera di San Paolo. There is no clue as to exactly when or for whom this design was made. It shows, however, that Correggio, like so many painters of the Renaissance, had to turn his hand, at the behest of his patron, to other works besides painting (Pl. IX).

The second drawing² is not unknown and the object with which it was made—one side of it at least—is satisfactorily clear. It is one of four studies which have come down to us for the pendentive in S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma, on which St. Matthew and St. Jerome are represented.³ It belonged successively to E. Bouverie (L. 325), the Earl of Gainsborough, and Mr. A. G. B. Russell, at whose sale at Sotheby's on 9 May 1929 it appeared as lot 14, when it was bought by the late H. S. Reitlinger. It was illustrated in the sale catalogue and shown at the Royal Academy Exhibition of Drawings last summer, no. 63, and at the Reitlinger Sale on 9 December of last year, lot 38 (what is now the *verso* illustrated). In combination with the other three drawings, which I have mentioned,

it gives us an insight into Correggio's methods of work. All four drawings closely resemble one another and the fresco itself, so that a superficial judgement might regard all four as copied from that. But a closer inspection reveals not only the sort of differences which preclude a copy, but also the presence of a powerful and fruitful genius, no *pasticheur*. Probably the earliest of the series is that at Munich (illustrated in Ricci, *Correggio*, 1930, pl. ccxliii*a*), in which, though the general lines of the design are already clear in the artist's mind, with the powerful figure of St. Matthew swinging across the triangle of the pendentive, almost all the details are in a state of flux. Next comes our drawing conforming closely in general arrangement to that at Munich and perhaps traced by the artist from it as to its main lines, but if these seem already fixed, this is not the case with important parts, and we see Correggio with harsh powerful strokes of the chalk experimenting in the attitude of St. Matthew's angel and in that of the upper part of St. Matthew himself. In the next two drawings, in the Uffizi (nowhere illustrated) and at Milan in the collection formed by the late Count Rasini (Ricci, pl. ccxlviii*b*) respectively, the process has advanced a good deal farther and the final form is still more nearly approached. But even in the Rasini version, which is squared and comparatively finished, there are details, important details, with which the artist was still experimenting, for example St. Matthew's right hand, which is drawn in two quite different positions. The series shows what is confirmed by other examples which could be cited, that Correggio was able easily and decisively to fix an idea on the paper in the first instance. It was the process of tightening up the design, of making the details more expressive, of pulling the whole thing together, that was difficult for him. He accomplished it apparently by tracing and then by experimenting with sections of this tracing, sometimes drastically. How frequently the process was repeated we do not know, but it seems certain that the Rasini drawing marks nearly the end of the struggle while the present study is nearer the beginning.

The purpose of the drawings on the *verso*, two separate studies of Cupid bound to a tree with something of the same manneristic twist as appears in the St. Matthew, is unknown. The position of the figures shows a resemblance to that of the St. Sebastian painted on a minute scale in the background of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Louvre, but in reverse, and there is no question of the drawing being a study for this in view of the clearly indicated wings. It only suggests that painting and drawing may be more or less contemporary and that a figure bound to a tree, whether Cupid or St. Sebastian, automatically as it were assumed the same attitude (Pl. X).

A. E. POPHAM

¹ Red chalk, 24.5 × 17 cm. Register mark, 1953-4-11-112.

² Red chalk (except for the figure on the right of the *verso*, which is outlined in pen and ink),

19.9 × 15.8 cm. Watermark, a cardinal's hat.

³ It seems to me clear that the figure of St. Matthew owes its inspiration to the Isaiah of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel.

A DRAWING BY ALBRECHT DÜRER

THE Museum has recently purchased, from a small album said to have belonged to David Garrick, a drawing by Albrecht Dürer,¹ another of the series of copies from the so-called 'Tarocchi cards of Mantegna', of which the Museum already possessed nine examples. The new drawing (Pl. X) reproduces the Muse Euterpe. It clearly belongs to the first of the two stylistic groups into which the twenty existing copies have been divided, the group in which Dürer follows his original most closely and works with a finer pen and more delicate touch. It finds its nearest analogy in the copy of the Thalia (Winkler 122) already in the Museum. Although the copies of this group are closer to the originals, this is not to say that they reproduce them exactly. The pose, the action and, to a certain extent, the expression of the face are in the present case those of the original, but everything else has been translated from the idiom of Ferrara in the sixties of the fifteenth century to that of Nuremberg in the nineties. It is as if Dürer had posed a model in the same position as the original Euterpe but clothed her in clothing of an entirely different texture. The other drawings of the series in the British Museum came from the Sloane album of 1637, but there is no question of the Euterpe having been abstracted from this at any time. At least the series is numbered continuously and there is no indication of anything missing before no. 100, the first, or after no. 108, the last. There is, on the other hand, a presumption that the drawing was at one time in France from the fact that it is backed with a piece of paper on which is written 'pour monsieur/monsieur] ...emonis...'. Seven of the series, of which four have a provenance from Everard Jabach according to Demonts,² are in the Louvre and another in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³ Our drawing may have been at one time associated with these.

A. E. POPHAM

¹ Pen and ink, 19.2 × 10.9 cm. (including strip about 1.5 cm. wide added on right). 1952-10-11-4.

² Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des Dessins des Écoles du Nord, École allemande et

suisse par Louis Demonts, Paris, 1937, nos. 118-25.

³ Bibliothèque Nationale, Inventaire général des Dessins des Écoles du Nord par Frits Lugt et J. Vallery-Radot, Paris, 1936, p. 7, no. 12.

AN INLAID PHOENICIAN IVORY FROM ASSYRIA

AMONG the many fine objects from the ancient Near East to enter this Museum a new ivory group from Nimrud must take a very high place, (no. 127412; height 4 in.; see pl. XVIa). In the course of 1952 Professor Mallowan, who had recently reopened the excavations of Layard at the ancient Assyrian site of Nimrud, began work in the palace of Assurnasirpal. He discovered a section of the palace unexplored by Layard and found an ancient well, then filled up. Wells often form a useful hiding place for antiquities, and his reward was great, for in the moist sludge at the bottom he found some of the finest ancient ivories hitherto known, which had been thrown in after the sack of the palaces about 705 B.C. These ivories are of Phoenician and Syrian workmanship, of a style already met in considerable numbers at Nimrud, whither they were imported by the Assyrians as plunder or presents. Naturally the principal pieces remain in Iraq, and are to be seen in the Museum at Baghdad, but this Museum has been most fortunate in securing from the British School of Archaeology in Iraq a piece of singular splendour, in return for supporting the excavation in various ways. This piece was one of a pair, its fellow remaining in Iraq. It is a section of a tusk, slightly curved, and uncarved at the back, but showing in the front a scene of a lioness, her forehead inlaid with a blue ornament, devouring a negro in a thicket of lotus plants. The vigour, delicacy, technical skill, and preservation of this masterpiece are such that it is hard to believe it is 2,600 years old. The flowers are inlaid with carnelian and lapis lazuli. The negro's kilt, hair, and various details of the flowers are still partly gilded. One detail puts the Phoenician origin of the piece out of question; a letter *aleph* incised as a mason's mark on the top, to assist the ancient carpenter in correctly assembling the piece of furniture of which it was once a part. On arrival in this country this object was skilfully cleaned, examined, and repaired by Dr. Plenderleith in the Laboratory of the Museum.

When we see this piece we realize that the extraordinary reputation which the Phoenicians enjoyed amongst the Greeks in the time of Homer as craftsmen of the highest skill was not exaggerated. The object of furniture from which this piece and its fellow alone remain must indeed have been magnificent.

R. D. BARNETT

A GOLD BEAD WITH GRANULAR DECORATION

IN 1951 a necklace of beads and ornaments was brought to the Museum for examination: it was believed to have come from Cyprus. For the most part the objects of which it consisted were of Roman date, but one, evidently regarded by some earlier owner as a locket and strung in that position to form the centre of the necklace, demanded closer attention. It has now been presented to the Museum by Mrs. M. Oved.¹

It is a flat cylindrical bead 19 mm. in diameter, with an average thickness of 7 mm. (Pl. XIIa). It consists of two thin plates of beaten gold of pale colour joined together with a band of the same material by means of solder. The interior has been filled with a plaster-like substance which in two places has penetrated the joins of the top and sides. The outside is decorated with fine gold wire, sometimes twisted to resemble cable, and with granulations. The hole for suspension is 2 mm. in diameter and flanged at each end with a strip of hammered gold: near one end there has been extensive alteration or repair, for at this point part of the original decoration is covered (Pl. XIIe). The whole bead shows signs of wear and vigorous cleaning.

Each side is decorated with three concentric circles, the centre consisting of a pattern of leaves or petals—seven in one, five in the other: the wire of which these circles are formed is sometimes plain, sometimes cable: on the more decorated side, probably the front (Pl. XIIa, b), the inmost and outermost circles are of cable, the intermediate of plain wire: on the other side (Pl. XIIc) the inmost and intermediate circles are of cable, and the outermost plain. Whilst this side is content with groups of granulation in series of three, the front increases the number of granules to six, and adds a fine border—punctuated by single granules—of 'false' running spirals, mostly not connected with one another, in the cabled wire. There is also a border of 'false' running spirals round the side of the bead, which has cabled edges: these are fuller and freer in design and are connected (Pl. XII d-f). The granules vary in size. Some are quite large: that which forms the centre of the design on the front measures 2 mm.; the others vary from 0.5 to 1 mm. in diameter, and there is little attempt to match them with each other.

By its shape, size, and decoration this circular bead appears to be connected with two classes of objects in Minoan and Mycenaean gold-work; first the two circular gold beads found in Mochlos,² later forms of which have been associated with gold necklaces in Cyprus;³ and second the small gold pyxides found in the genuine Thisbe hoard⁴ and in the Queen's Grave at Dendra,⁵ which appear to be related to the more primitive models found in the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae.⁶ The purpose of the pyxides is unknown, but it is thought that they may have been used as small scent-containers: that at Dendra was found near the head of

the queen. Our own bead would not seem to have been used in this manner, but its form evidently owes something to that of the pyxides.

The use of concentric circles and, on scaraboids, of ellipses has been observed in certain gems of the first millennium B.C., called for the want of a better term Syro-Hittite. One in lapis lazuli is surrounded by two concentric ellipses: in the border thus formed is a recurring decoration of bucrania, sun-disks, and debased rosettes which consist of groups of small drill-holes probably derived from granular decoration.⁷

A possible connexion with another class of gold bead bearing granular decoration must also be considered. These, of both rectangular and circular shape, were found with other trinkets at Frøslev, Bregentved, Skaelland.⁸ The find has been dated to the second century A.D. It is true that these granulated beads, since they are much damaged, may be older than the others found with them, which are in fine condition; but it is quite possible that any resemblance to the bead we are considering is due to a similar solution having been reached in different parts of the world to similar problems of craftsmanship. Nor do any of these beads from Scandinavia bear spiral decoration: but the spiral decoration of our circular bead is so characteristic and decided that it seems to point to an Aegean origin; and the evidence of the Syro-Hittite gem and the earlier Hittite metal seals⁹ may help to establish its date near the end of the second millennium B.C.

V. E. G. KENNA

¹ Registration, 1951, 8-1, 4.

² Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 22, fig. 6, p. 72.

³ *B.M. Catalogue of Jewellery*, nos. 578, 579, 657. Compare also the classical beads of similar form from Rhodes and Southern Italy, *ibid.* nos. 2065-9, 2119.

⁴ Evans, *JHS* 45 (1925), p. 2, fig. 1 c.

⁵ Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 39, pl. xxvii. This could well have been used to contain perfume, and worn as a bead round the neck.

⁶ Karo, *Sch. Grab. Myc.*, p. 56, no. 85, pl. 103, 85. Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 207, no. 321.

⁷ In a private collection. This may derive from the practice of surrounding a cartouche with a band of religious symbols, seen on scarabs of the Hyksos period, e.g. B.M. 32319.

⁸ *National Museum*, i, nos. 9-13.

⁹ Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, nos. 308-9, 323, pp. 75, 79, pl. x; B.M. scarab 17231. A gold disk decorated with pairs of connected spirals, found by Woolley at Atchana (AT/38/52A: *A forgotten Kingdom*, pl. 14c) is of the late 13th century (Level I).

ROMAN WRITING-TABLETS FROM LONDON

A GROUP of three fragments of Roman writing-tablets recently given to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities by Professor I. A. Richmond includes a specimen of exceptional interest (Pl. XIII. This fragment is $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long). The group has recently been published by Professor Richmond¹ so that only a brief description, based on his account, is given here. The three fragments are all of fir-wood, and come from the bed of the Walbrook, in Lothbury, City of London.

One fragment bears on the outside a *graffito*, which is, however, of suspiciously modern appearance. On the inside of this tablet are the impressions (made in the same way as that of the long inscription described below) of at least three texts, superimposed and illegible except for isolated letters.

The most interesting piece is inscribed on the outside with the word *Londinio*, in bold cursive characters which were probably written with a bronze pen. On the inside is the impression of part of a letter written on the wax coating (which is not preserved) with a stylus held so firmly that it cut through the wax and into the wood. The extant part of the text is slightly longer and probably more interesting than any other inscription surviving from Roman London. Professor Richmond's transcription is as follows:

- 1 *Rufus callisuni salutem epillico et omni*
bus contubernatibus certiores vos esse
credo me recte valere si vos indi
cem fecistis rogo mittite omnia
5 *diligenter cura agas ut illam puel*
lam ad nummum redigas. . .

'Rufus, son of Callisunus; greeting to Epillicus and all his fellows. I believe you know I am very well. If you have made the list, please send. Do thou look after everything carefully. See that thou turnest that slave-girl into cash . . .

This inscription is likely to date from the first century A.D. It gives an intimate and instructive glimpse of life in Roman Britain. Callisunus and Epillicus are both Celtic names, so the inscription shows us a master (Rufus) and his servant, both of native stock, conducting business in Latin.

J. W. BRAILSFORD

¹ *Antiquaries Journ.*, vol. xxxiii (1953), p. 206.

STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERY GROUP

THROUGH the generosity of Miss Amy B. Mossman the Museum has acquired a Staffordshire earthenware group of the Virgin and Child, 13.3 in. high, of exceptional charm (Pl. XIV). The Virgin is seated on a stool with the Child on her lap. She wears a yellow cloak over a striped robe and a brown bodice. The base is coloured to imitate marble. The group may be ascribed to the factory of Enoch Wood of Burslem and dated to about 1790. It may be noted that the Victoria and Albert Museum contains a brown-glazed figure from the same model (no. C. 480-1918), given by Mr. Stuart G. Davis, which is marked WOOD & CALDWELL, a mark used to commemorate their partnership, which extended from 1790 to 1818. A similar group in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 389-1872) was bought in 1872 and is illustrated by A. H.

Church, *English Earthenware* (1904 edition), fig. 69, where it is entitled 'Mother and Child'. It is further illustrated by Herbert Read, *Staffordshire Pottery Figures* (1929), plate 52, where it is stated that the group is 'said to have been modelled by the sculptor, John Bacon', an attribution unsupported by evidence. A third version, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is described and illustrated by Bernard Rackham, *Catalogue of the Glaisher Collection* (1935), no. 901, and pl. 68.

WILLIAM KING

A BRONZE MIRROR FROM SHAO HSING, CHEKIANG PROVINCE

ON Plate XV is illustrated a bronze mirror of outstanding quality and interest, acquired in February 1954. It is selected from the important group of ancient Chinese bronzes which the Museum owes to the generosity of Mr. P. T. Brooke Sewell.

The existence of a distinct group of bronze mirrors of known provenance, to which the present example belongs, was discussed by the late A. D. Brankston, Assistant-Keeper in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, in a paper read in 1940.¹ He explained that these mirrors are found in tombs in the district of Shao Hsing, anciently called Yüeh Chou, in the north of Chekiang Province, that they are frequently associated in the graves with glazed vessels of Yüeh ware, and that dated examples of the mirrors have the reign-titles of the Wu dynasts who ruled this territory from A.D. 221 to 280. The technical quality of these mirrors is equal to the best of the Han mirrors, and their fresh, naïvely crowded decoration—human figures and scenes had not been cast on mirrors before—is as significant for the history of representational art in early China as it is important in illustrating some iconographical aspects of Taoist religion. The appearance of the Taoist themes on articles of luxury is perhaps a token of the respectability achieved by Taoist notions during the Han period, when they intermittently attracted the serious notice of emperors.

The quarter of the mirror placed lowest in the illustration shows the moustached Tung Wang Kung, Lord-King of the East. A quasi-Confucian hat with three vertical strokes on it replaces the three-spiked crown he often wears. On his right stand two guards—the inscription terms them *tai lang*, servitors—holding *ko* halberds and wearing headdresses over which project antlers. This last feature is not noticeable on other mirrors of this kind, but the idea agrees too well with the antlered wooden head from Ch'ang-Sha, now in the British Museum, to leave much room for doubt. On Tung Wang Kung's left is a kneeling attendant, below whose bent legs a feathery aerial spirit has just squeezed himself in.

Opposite the Lord-King of the East sits Hsi Wang Mu, Queen Mother of the

West. The attendant on her left is covered by the royal canopy (such, for instance, as is held over the boy-king Ch'êng Wang in a Wu Liang Ts'ü relief of the second century A.D.) and from her back rise the waving streamers of her wings. A pair of undersized attendants on her right are surmounted by an aerial spirit (which might be mistaken for a second canopy) whose feathered arms are advanced and frail hands raised. On other mirrors such genii sometimes have above their open palms three or four short horizontal lines and a small circle; this motive appears here also, but isolated, at the Queen Mother's right shoulder. The design probably arose from the curled termination of the units of parallel strokes which often fill spaces in the design, and represent perhaps clouds or rapid movement. Also missing is the jewel seen on other mirrors in the hands of the Queen Mother's principal attendant: here her hands are hidden in the sleeves of her garment.

Between the groups centring on these chief deities of the Taoists are represented a chariot drawn by three horses, and a cavalry skirmish. It is not clear why three to five horses are required to draw these chariots of Wu, when in the harness of the preceding Han period one horse was enough. Shafts and traces are always omitted in the representations on the mirrors—the artist can have had no idea how they should be shown. In the skirmish the two leading horsemen are falling under the blows of their pursuers; one of them is being unseated by a halberd. The bow of the upper pursuer projects from its case on his mount's flank.

This mirror has been published by a Japanese archaeologist along with sixty-two others found in the Shao Hsing district.² The same author transcribes an account of the finds from an article in a Chinese provincial journal, not available in this country.³ The tombs from which they came, widely scattered in the vicinity of Shao Hsing, are brick-built subterranean chambers, generally 10 or 12 feet long and half as wide, barrel-vaulted and sometimes approached by a short entrance passage. Inscribed bricks incorporated in the fabric record dates from A.D. 229 to 566. Some of the mirrors, decorated similarly in high relief with Taoist personages and with the animals of the four quarters, have inscriptions which include dates extending from A.D. 217 to 277. There are, however, no dated inscriptions on mirrors of a kind closely comparable to the present example, which belongs to a group distinguished by greater fineness of detail and a superiority of the speculum metal. These better mirrors are closer to the standard of the best specimens of the preceding Han period, a few even proclaiming themselves made by the Shang Fang, a manufactory established in the later Han (A.D. 25–220). It is probable that the superior type belongs to the early decades of the third century. One mirror is decorated with a figure of a Wu king, inscribed as such, so that the local origin of the whole group can hardly be questioned, even supposing that the concentration of the finds in the Shao Hsing district were an

accident of survival. Along with the mirrors in the tombs was found a quantity of glazed porcelain of the Yüeh type. Unfortunately the reports do not relate particular pots to dated mirrors and bricks.

WILLIAM WATSON

¹ A. D. Brankston, *Chinese Bronze Mirrors from the District of Yüeh*, Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, vol. xvii (1939-1940), pp. 56-64.

² Umehara Sueji, *Shao Hsing Kokyō Shūei*, Kyoto, 1940.

³ By Chang P'ei-k'ang. Summarized by Umehara Sueji in a contribution to the Kigen Nisen Roppyaku Nen Kinen Shigaku Rombun Shū (Ed. Nishida Chikujirō, Kyotō Imperial University, 1941) entitled *Chekiang Shō Shao Hsing Shutsudo no Ibutsu to sono Iseki*.

AN ANCIENT MAYA POLYCHROME PLATE

AMONG a small collection of pottery, formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Gann, and recently purchased by the Museum, is a polychrome plate of the early or middle Tepeu phase, which corresponded to the greatest period of the Maya civilization, roughly between A.D. 600 and A.D. 900.

The plate is covered with an orange slip, which is ornamented near the centre by a solitary fish with graceful but greatly exaggerated fins. The marginal area is decorated by a band of fish and other marine organisms of a highly conventionalized kind, and by rows of plain bars. This band is bordered on the inside by red and black bands, and on the outside by a band of scallops which is contiguous to the black rim of the plate (Pl. XVIb).

The plate has been ceremonially 'killed', a not uncommon practice among the Maya, for mortuary purposes, as can be seen from the perforation in the centre and the two cracks radiating from it. In places too the slip has eroded, but enough of the original design remains to show the beauty of the painting, with its delicate brushmarks and sweeping curves, typical of Maya art of the period.

The representation of fish with their exaggerated fins is of particular interest for the students of Maya epigraphy, for the fins can be equated with the comb-like elements which occur in certain Maya glyphs. The Initial Series glyph, for example, which begins a long calendrical count, includes, among other elements, the sign for the Three hundred and Sixty day period, known as the *Tun*, and two 'comb-like appendages', which are sometimes replaced by fishes' heads, and which have frequently been demonstrated to be the conventionalized fins of fish. They are, it is generally believed, the fins of the *Xoc* fish and are used as a rebus for the word *Xoc* which is also the Yucatecan word for count. Part of the meaning of this particular glyph would therefore be 'the count of the *Tuns*'.

There is some doubt as to the particular nature of the *Xoc* fish. It has been compared with whales, sharks, and other large fish, but, as Eric Thompson

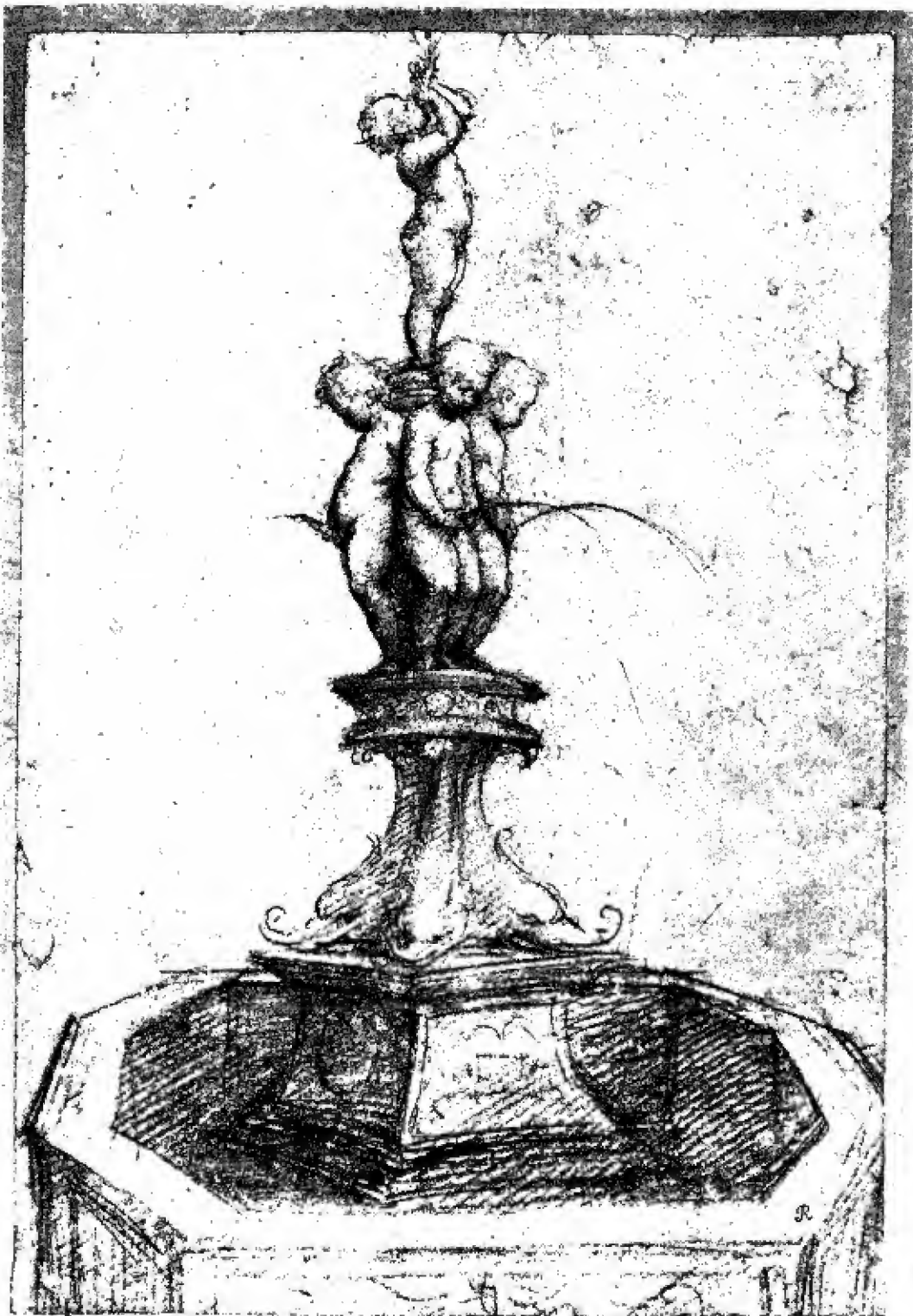
observes, 'Mythology and zoology have but a nodding acquaintance'. The various representations of the *Xoc* fish are said to include barbels which sweep upward and downward from the forehead.

From the foregoing it is a reasonable inference that the whole decorative design of the plate is associated with the Maya conception of counting, from the fins of the solitary central fish to the four fish on the ornamental band which are furnished with magnificent barbels and may indeed be a representation of the classical Maya conception of the *Xoc* fish.

ADRIAN DIGBY

REFERENCE

- J. E. S. Thompson, *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: Introduction*. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., 1950.)

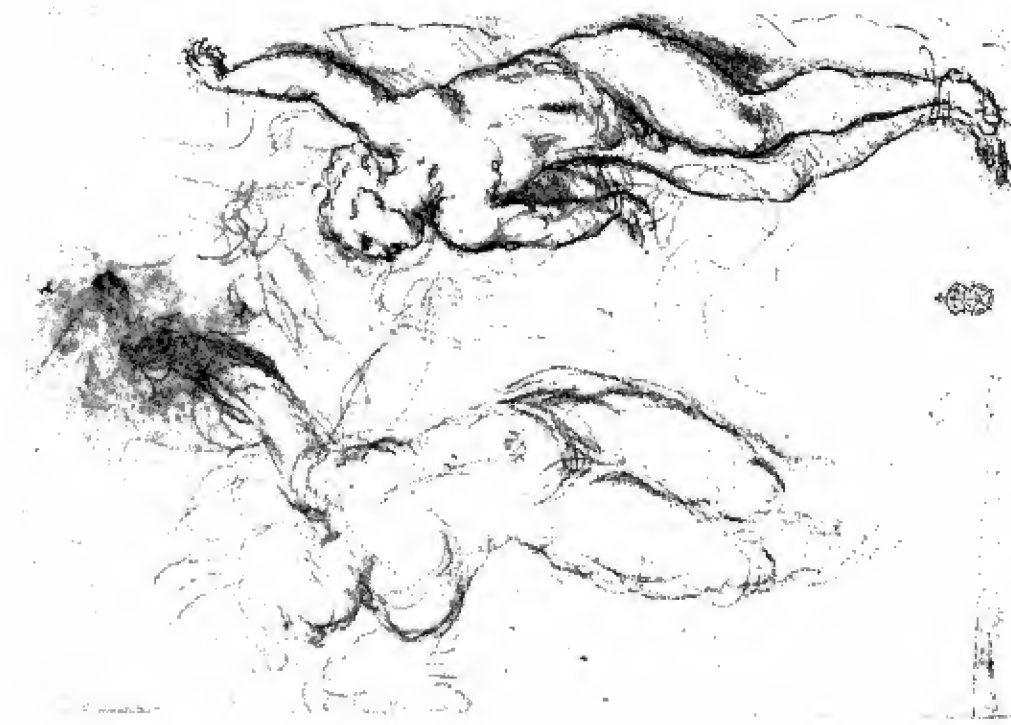


IX. DRAWING BY CORREGGIO

Design for a fountain



a



b

X. A SHEET OF DRAWINGS BY CORREGGIO

- a. *Retta*. Design for pendentive
- b. *Verza*. Two studies of Cupid bound



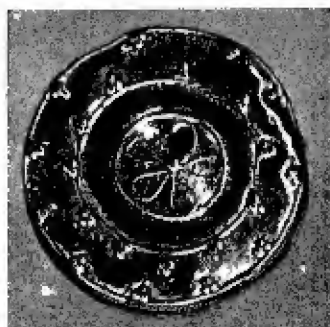
XI. DRAWING BY ALBRECHT DÜRER
The Muse Euterpe



a



b



c



d

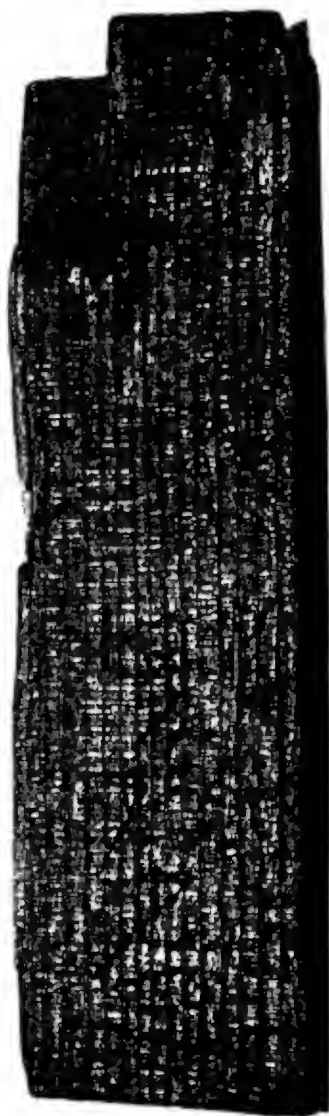


e

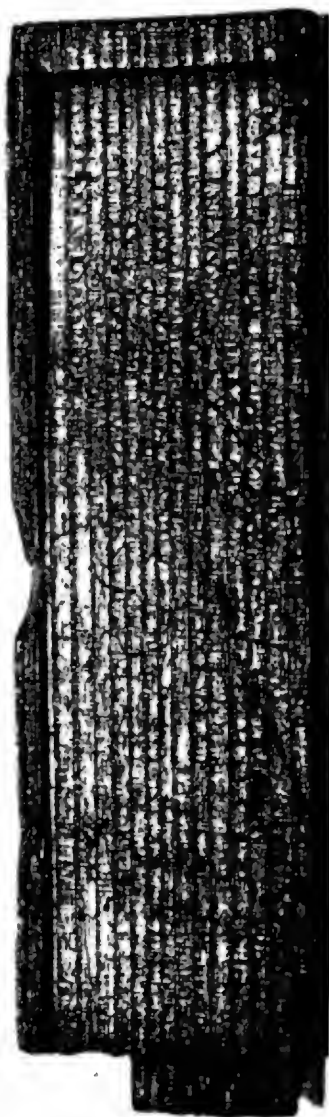


f

XII. A GOLD BEAD
(*a*, actual size; *b-f*, magnified two diameters)



a



b

XIII. ROMAN WRITING TABLET

a. Exterior *b.* Interior



XIV. STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERY GROUP

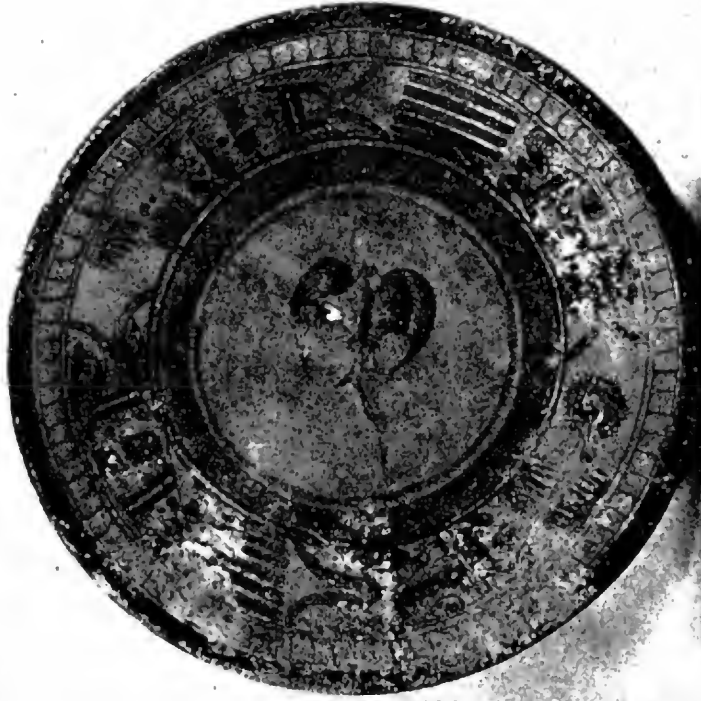


XV. BRONZE MIRROR

From the district of Shao Hsing, north Chekiang Province
Diameter 8½ in. Early 3rd century A.D.



a



b

XVI. *a*. INLAID PHOENICIAN IVORY FROM NIMRUD: late 8th century B.C.
b. ANCIENT MAYA POLYCHROME PLATE: of the Tepeu phase (c. A.D. 600-A.D. 900)
 Diameter 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

WILLEMENT'S ROLL

IT is not often that the Museum has the opportunity of acquiring a 'lost' manuscript, that is to say, a manuscript that has been recorded at some time in the past and has subsequently been lost to sight; such an opportunity, however, presented itself at the recent sale of Lord Derby's library at Christie's.

In 1834 Thomas Willement, the antiquary and stained-glass artist, published in blazon a roll of arms then in the possession of Canon Newling of Lichfield. Since that date all trace of the manuscript disappeared, and when Mr. Anthony Wagner, *Richmond Herald*, brought together the material for his *Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (1950) he was compelled to rely for his information about the roll on Willement's work. The catalogue description of lot 252 in the Derby sale of 24 March of this year suggested that this was the missing roll, a fact subsequently confirmed. How long it had been at Knowsley is not known, but it may have been acquired by the 13th earl when Canon Newling's library was dispersed after his death in 1834. The roll is made up of thirteen membranes usually sewn together, and contains in its present form some 600 painted shields of arms. On the first two membranes are painted the gartered coats of the Founder Knights of the Garter; of the twenty-six that should form the complete series two are lost owing to damage to the roll (those of Edward III and Henry Duke of Lancaster) and one (that of the Black Prince) is much mutilated. At the head of the third membrane is the crowned and gartered shield of Richard II which serves as a frontispiece to the roll proper which contains the arms of the English nobility and gentry: from these the original compilation of the roll may be dated to a period between 1392 and 1397, but the handwriting of the present copy points to a date either late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century for it. Certain features, however, link it with other heraldic manuscripts and thus enable us to date it rather more precisely. Stylistic features in the painting of the arms suggest at once comparison with the roll of arms cut up and bound in Add. MS. 45133, one of the Wriothesley manuscripts acquired at the Clumber sale in 1938; moreover, there are similarities in handwriting between Willement's Roll and the Clumber MS., and the appearance of the 'Jhc' monogram (a well-known feature in Wriothesley material) is to be noted (Pl. xvii). There can be little doubt therefore that Willement's Roll is one of the large group of heraldic manuscripts whose production was inspired by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, who was appointed Garter King of Arms in 1505 and died in 1534. In the late sixteenth century it appears to have belonged to a Thomas Monke and in the middle of the seventeenth century to one Henry Davy. The acquisition of the roll for the national collection is welcome for the twofold reason that it recovers for students of heraldry an important roll of arms 'lost' for over a century and that it re-unites the roll to the Wriothesley group of manuscripts to which it apparently originally belonged. The roll is now numbered Egerton MS. 3713. C. E. WRIGHT

EARLY POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS

'HIS death is an immeasurable loss to English letters.' This statement in a letter to *The Times* signed by (among others) Mr. T. S. Eliot, Sir Kenneth Clark, Mr. Augustus John, and Sir Osbert Sitwell, was only one of many expressions of wide and overwhelming regret at the death of Dylan Thomas, in New York on 9 November 1953, in his fortieth year. The international review *Adam* devoted an entire number to his memory, elegies and recollections flooded the literary magazines, a fund launched to support his widow and children evoked an immediate and large response, his collected poems sold like a novel: while, through the B.B.C., Thomas's great gifts as actor and raconteur had already won him that wider audience which most contemporary poets seek in vain, and to which he bequeathed his magnificent swan-song *Under Milk Wood*.

Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Trevor Hughes, a boyhood friend of Dylan Thomas, the Department of Manuscripts has been able, within a year of the poet's death, to add to its collections a batch of his early poems, most of them typewritten (with some autograph corrections), but including a few holograph pieces. The manuscripts include drafts of such famous poems as 'Light breaks where no sun shines' and 'Especially when the October wind', but most of the poems are unpublished.

Mr. Hughes's gift has been numbered Add. MS. 48217, and will form, when bound, a volume of seventy-nine folios which will be of the greatest interest for what it reveals of Thomas's poetic beginnings during the four years before he burst upon the world in 1934 with his first volume, *Eighteen Poems*. Not surprisingly, he experimented with, before discarding, the 'social realism' of the day:

... thirsty loads
Of men with flannel shirts
And girls with flowered hats
Ride in their charabancs on roads
That lead away to dirty towns
Dirtier with garages and cheap tea signs.

Another poem, 'No, pigeon', reveals, with characteristic humour, an acute self-criticism of his early writing:

I'm not secure enough
To tell what note I could reach if I tried,
... I'm all for ground
To touch what's to be touched,
To imitate myself mechanically,
Doing my little tricks of speech again
With all my usual care.

But soon the notes become higher, the flights longer, the mechanical tricks disappear, and that self-mocking estimate is refuted by the strength and security of lines like these:

... He has the still moon and the hundred stars,
He learns the carrion pickers of the sky,
And on his shoulders fall their world of wings,
And on his ears hosannas of the grave. . . .

K. W. GRANSDEN

AN ASSYRIAN ROYAL PENANCE

A SMALL, and unfortunately rather battered and corroded, bronze figure, No. 86259 (Pl. xviii *a, b, c*), which has been in the collection since 1899, deserves some notice by its very singular character; its dimensions are $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. across the base. Bought in that year from Mr. W. Talbot Ready, one of a family, father and sons, well known then in the world of collectors, who also worked as restorers and casters for various Departments of the Museum, this figure was accompanied by, *inter alia*, a bronze amulet and a bronze group of apotropaic figures (man and dog), both, like the present object, of clear Assyrian style, as well as the two curious carved and inscribed tablets of green stone known as the 'Blau Monuments' (86260, 86261), which were included in the purchase gratis, as being worthless forgeries. This figure represents a bearded man, naked and squatting upon the ground in a very awkward posture, with both legs flexed and turned sideways under him towards his right, so that he is actually sitting upon his lower left leg and foot. His arms rest upon his knees, and the hands, slightly raised, seem to be empty. The beard is round, ample, and clearly formed, but the facial features, apart from traces of the eye-sockets, have been almost lost. There would be nothing very remarkable in all this were it not for the head-dress, in form of a truncated cone like a fez, with a vertical projection in the middle. From the back edge of the cap hang two, possibly three, short streamers, as well as some indication of the hair beneath falling over the shoulders. This head-dress is the Assyrian crown, or at least a headgear worn by the king alone, as shown repeatedly in sculptures and other works of art, and it may therefore be concluded that the personage represented in this very unconventional guise is the Assyrian king himself. If so the contrast is extreme with the ordinary appearance of that proud potentate, in which etiquette prescribed, and artists exaggerated, a perfect *tenue* with demeanour and costume alike unruffled, even amid the most strenuous exertions of war and hunting. Since depiction of involuntary disgrace is unthinkable, this lowly mien must be adopted before a god, in one of those religious observances which are

known to have borne with irksome severity upon the king of the Assyrians as of other nations in antiquity, and of some primitive tribes in recent times. In such circumstances the king's humiliation would be neither unbecoming in itself nor unfit to be shown in a work of art destined (no doubt) for the temple in which the penance was done. It is attested that the king of Babylon annually, at a point in the New Year mysteries, underwent a divine scrutiny of his deeds, in which he was not only despoiled for a time of his crown and regalia, but was actually buffeted by the officiating priest, and dragged by the ears on to his knees before the god, to whom he had to make profession of his piety. Although no such ordeal is known to have been inflicted upon the Assyrian king, there is much evidence for the fasts and burdensome rituals which he had to undergo for the supposed salvation of his people, as also there are litanies in which the king, as a consequence of sickness or of dire portents, expresses himself in terms of distress and complaint which present his condition as abject—'I am in fear, in darkness, in gross darkness'. There was no reprieve for a monarch amenable enough to superstition. An Assyrian letter in the British Museum (K. 569), from two astrologers, reveals the king as protesting, in vain, against the prolongation of the complete fast which they had imposed upon him. But these overweening mentors were inexorable, he must fast one day more, 'poor king!' they add, with impertinent irony. *Tantum religio*—this bronze may represent another signal triumph of Assyrian priestcraft.

C. J. GADD

FINDS FROM THE MESOLITHIC HABITATION-SITE AT STAR CARR, SEAMER, NEAR SCARBOROUGH, YORKS.

AN event of major importance for British prehistory has been the discovery of a mesolithic habitation-site yielding not only an abundance of flint implements, but, in intimate association with them, artifacts of organic perishable material as well as remains of fauna and vegetation. Such sites have been found in Denmark and northern Germany but, in this country, the only material evidence attributable to the long period between the close of the last Ice Age and the appearance of our Neolithic cultures has consisted of quantities of flints from a large number of sites, together with a few sporadic finds of bone and antler implements. From these it has been quite impossible to build up a picture of any of our mesolithic cultures except by analogy with the continental finds—an unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The excavation of the Star Carr site has changed all this. Not only is it the sole mesolithic site in Britain producing organic remains in quantity, but, owing to certain unique features, it turns out to be one of the most important and interesting

of such sites in north-west Europe. From the finds it is possible at last to get a fairly clear idea of the 'way of life' of a tribe of mesolithic hunters and of their environment. The manner in which they made their principal weapon, the barbed point, is also clearly demonstrable.

The site, about five miles south of Scarborough, was not discovered by chance but by patient field-work, extending over many months, on the part of Mr. J. W. Moore, an amateur archaeologist of Scarborough. His work culminated in the finding of an archaeological horizon containing not only flint artifacts of known mesolithic type but organic remains, the preservation of the latter being due to a covering of peat. The find was duly reported and, after inspection, appeared to be so promising that careful and thorough excavation was decided upon, grants towards which were made by the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge University, and an anonymous donor. The work was undertaken by Professor J. G. D. Clark of Cambridge University during the years 1949 to 1951¹ and resulted in the discovery of a dwelling-site consisting of a very rough platform of brushwood and small trees thrown down on the shores of an ancient lake, now peat-filled. As well as faunal and vegetable remains, a great number of artifacts of antler, bone, and flint were found scattered through this platform. The Museum has a representative selection of these—the most important and interesting of which are figured on Pl. xix as follows:

1. Four unilaterally barbed points of deer antler. About 200 of these were found, complete or in fragments, some more than a foot long, and they may be regarded as the type fossil of the industry. To make them, long strips were cut with flint gravers and then prized off.

2. Red-deer antler utilized for making barbed points. Scars indicate where four strips have been taken off and the outlines of a fifth, cut with a graver, can be seen.

3. A perforated 'frontlet' of deer skull and antlers. There were a number of these, some very fragmentary. They are unique, none having been found on any other site, and are, without doubt, the most interesting and intriguing of the objects found. These 'frontlets' have two or three perforations and the inner sides of the antlers are hollowed and ground down, the burrs also being cut away. In some instances where the tines have been preserved intact, they are found to be hollowed out to the tip. A considerable reduction in weight was effected by all this work, which suggests that these mysterious objects were worn on the head for some sort of hunting magic. It is interesting to note a possible parallel in parts of modern Lapland, where young men dance in a circle with reindeer horns on their heads, while a man in the middle tries to catch them with a lasso.²

4. Perforated axe-head of elk skull and antler. This is ingeniously made from the lower part of the antler, its pedicel and part of the frontal bone. The hard bone is ground to a cutting edge, and the softer antler perforated for the haft.

5. Bone gouge made from leg-bone of an ox. One end has been ground to a sharp edge, and the sides are flaked in a manner reminiscent of stone-work.

6. Bracket-fungus (*Fomes fomentarius*). A quantity of these were found. In the British Isles this fungus now occurs mainly on living birch-trees. Until quite recent times it was much used on the Continent for a number of purposes, among others, for making 'amadou' or tinder. This was done by slicing off the fleshy upper layer and treating it in various ways. It will be seen that the top layer in the specimen illustrated has been removed in much the same way.

Besides these, the collection includes a few bone implements, a typical assemblage of flint artifacts, comprising cores, scrapers, graters, awls, and microliths, and some small natural pebbles perforated perhaps for use as beads. Birch-bark rolls, varying in width from two to eight inches, were found in abundance on the site. Two small examples of these are in the collection. Modern Lapps use birch-bark for making a variety of containers and they store it in rolls similar to those found.

The paucity of bone artifacts is very striking. There was plenty of bone available, but antler was evidently much preferred.

There is evidence that the site was occupied at intervals over a considerable period of time and the material implies that the culture was an early form of Maglemosian. The preoccupation with antler rather than bone finds a parallel in the Late Glacial Hamburgian reindeer-hunting culture of northern Germany. A middle date for the occupation of the site may be put at about 7000 B.C. At that time it is probable that Britain was joined to the Continent by a vast plain occupying what is now the southern part of the North Sea.

E. M. M. ALEXANDER

¹ Preliminary Reports appeared in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, xv (1949), 52-69, and xvi (1950), 109-29. A full report is expected shortly. ² *Bull. Soc. Préhist. Française*, xlix (1952), 643.

THE A. D. BRANKSTON COLLECTION OF CHINESE PORCELAIN

THE Brankston collection of Chinese porcelain in the British Museum comprises gifts of porcelain and shards made in 1938 and 1939 during his lifetime, and further gifts and purchases from his father A. W. Brankston, and his sister Mrs. Winifred Roberts, made, after his death and in his memory, in 1952, 1953, and 1954. Of these twenty-three pieces, representing the early wares of Ching-tê Chên, five only were purchased; and the remainder presented, seven of them in his lifetime.

Archibald Brankston was born in Shanghai, where his father was an engineer, in 1909. He came to England to school at the age of twelve. On his return to

China as a civil engineer he worked with Binney & Co. on the Shing Mun Valley water scheme in Hong Kong, between 1933 and 1935, where the long hours and exacting work, mostly on the open hillside, undermined his health and strained his heart. Returning again to England on grounds of health, he was fortunate to obtain work at Burlington House in connexion with the arrangement, cataloguing, and photography of the exhibits at the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London in 1935. This work led to his appointment as a travelling student by the Universities China Committee in London. He was thus enabled to spend another eighteen months in the East, nine of these in Peking and its neighbourhood, and to make journeys into the interior of China, described in his paper 'An Excursion to Ching-tê-chên and Chi-an-fu in Kiangsi' read to the Oriental Ceramic Society on 14 December 1938. The porcelain fragments, which he obtained on this visit to kiln sites in the neighbourhood of Ch'ing-tê Chên and Yüeh Chou, were later given to the British Museum and now form a valuable part of the study collections. Among them are a series of fragments from such sites as Chiu-yen (Nine Rocks), between Shao-hsing and Hangchow, and from Shang-lin-hu to the east of Shao-hsing. He also visited Hu-t'ien in the neighbourhood of Ching-tê Chên and Yung-ho near Chi-an-fu, both in Kiangsi, and at the latter purchased a remarkable fragment of a dish with a raised and engraved phoenix design, which at once reminded him of the phoenix-headed ewer in the Eumorfopoulos collection in the British Museum, with which it can now be compared.¹

This visit to China, following on the experience he had already gained by handling the blue-and-white porcelain assembled during the London exhibition, led to his writing *Early Ming Wares of Chingtechen* which was published by Henry Vetch in Peking in 1938. Thirteen of the pieces from his own collection illustrated in this volume have since found a home in the Museum. To this work he brought a rare combination of taste and enthusiasm, documentation from Chinese literary sources, and knowledge gained in the field, which revolutionized our arrangement of the early blue-and-white wares of the Ming Dynasty. His book became the standard work on the wares of the reigns of Yung Lo (1403-24) and Hsüan Tê (1426-35), which were always his first and last loves.

'Porcelain of the periods here discussed', he wrote in this book, 'is, in the writer's opinion, the summit of attainment in the potter's art at Chingtechen. In Yung-lo the lotus has budded, in Hsüan-tê the flower has opened in all its freshness, and by Ch'êng-hua the leaves begin to tremble in the breeze. The only wares to stand beside them in comparison are the finest engraved Ting and the cups and bowls of Yüeh, whose perfection is only to be guessed at by handling fragments from Shang-lin-hu.'

Among the pieces illustrated in his book and now in the British Museum is the magnificent dish of the Hsüan Tê period, decorated with a dragon and water-weeds in underglaze blue, which is illustrated in colour as the frontispiece; the



white *Sêng-mao-hu*, or 'monk's cap' jug with incised floral decoration (Pl. 2 B), of Yung Lo date; the two blue-and-white *Lien-tzū* or 'lotus-pod' bowls, one belonging to the Hsüan Tê and the other to the Yung Lo period (Pl. 3 A and B), and the *Man-t'ou-hsin* ('loaf-centre') bowl on the same plate, also belonging to the reign of Yung Lo. From the same collection come no less than five blue-and-white ritual stem cups of the Hsüan Tê period, all of them marked with the *nien-hao* of that period (Pls. 8 B; 9 B; 10 B and D; and Pl. 18). The last of these is a particularly unusual specimen; while on Pl. 26 C is reproduced one of the so-called 'Palace bowls' of the Ch'êng Hua period, decorated in hibiscus scroll, and of superb quality, which is one of the Department's most recent acquisitions. An interesting little provincial stem cup decorated with figures, and attributed by Brankston to the fourteenth century (Pl. 33 E), completes the list of pieces illustrated in this book, which now belong to this Museum.

A number of other Brankston pieces in the British Museum are illustrated in my book *Ming Pottery and Porcelain* (1953). The earliest of these is another blue-and-white fourteenth-century stem cup with dragons in slip (Pl. 3 C); others include the large dish decorated with melon (Pl. 15 C) which is certainly early fifteenth century; another blue-and-white *Lien-tzū* bowl with a cracked glaze (Pl. 28 B) and a Hsüan Tê dish decorated with fish and water-weed (Pl. 34, back and front view). Perhaps the most intriguing item, of all the Brankston pieces illustrated in this work, is the beautiful jar with loop handles covered with a white glaze (Pl. 26 B). This is described as 'probably of the Yung Lo period' by its analogy with the covered jar with handles (*Kai-kuan*) belonging to the Chinese Government, and exhibited at the Chinese Exhibition at Burlington House in 1936.² The shape of the Brankston piece, acquired from Wu Lai-hsi at Sotheby's in 1937—where it was catalogued as sixteenth-seventeenth century—is slightly less squat and it lacks a lid. Despite its size it is thinly potted, and the glaze has that peculiar liquid quality, and the slight yellow flush on the foot, which is typical of the Ch'êng Hua period, to which it may very well belong. Unfortunately no similar piece with a Ch'êng Hua mark, to which we could compare it, is known to exist.

The first of the two pieces used to illustrate this article is a white 'lotus-pod' bowl, incised with lotus petals outside, and a lotus flower inside, together with slip decoration, which may be attributed to the Yung Lo period (Pl. XX). It was bought by Brankston at the Eumorfopoulos sale in 1940, where it was illustrated in the Catalogue (Fig. 310). It was also illustrated by W. B. Honey in *The Ceramic Art of China and Other Countries of the Far East*, Pl. 85 A. But neither of these insignificant photographs, which appear to come from the same plate, does it justice. In both catalogue and book it has been attributed to the Yung Lo period. The second is an unpublished blue-and-white saucer dish, decorated with a five-clawed dragon leaping from the waves, and surrounded by two dragons in

slip, and on the base with a six-character Hsüan Tê mark (Pl. xxi). A very similar, but not identical, dish, now in the David Foundation, is reproduced in Brankston's book on Pl. 17. Yet another of these saucer dishes belonging to Mrs. Seligman was shown at the Oriental Ceramic Society's Exhibition of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain at the Arts Council's Gallery in December 1953.³

Brankston was appointed an Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in July 1938 and in July 1940 left again for China on behalf of the Ministry of Information. He died in Hong Kong on 29 January 1941.

From a boy he had been a collector of birds' eggs, stamps, fossils, flints, and first editions, and on receiving his first week's salary at a small engineering job—his first job—he paid a ten shilling deposit on a Chinese bowl. As soon as the last instalment on this bowl was paid, it was followed by others, and in this way his collection took shape. Alas! we shall never know the conditions under which his collection of porcelain was formed in Peking, where he must have spent many hours discussing his 'finds' with the Chinese connoisseur Mr. Wu Lai-hsi, from whose collection of early blue-and-white, dispersed in London in 1937, at least one piece found its way into Brankston's possession. He had many other intimate friends among the Chinese dealers.

Brankston was never anything but a poor man, and his collection must have been built up by his own knowledge and perception at very reasonable prices. Fortunately for him fifteenth-century blue-and-white porcelain was not as yet properly appreciated in Europe, and wholly neglected in China, except for a few discriminating connoisseurs like Wu Lai-hsi, at the time of his purchases. Today, the prices in the sale rooms tell a very different tale. Under these circumstances the Brankston gifts to the Museum were of a particularly generous nature and after his death his family carried out what they believed to be his wishes regardless of their own interests in his collection. As a result, the British Museum has now acquired a representative collection of early fifteenth-century Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, which could not be obtained today from any other source. There could be a no more fitting memorial to Archibald Brankston's generosity, perception, and enthusiasm.

SOAME JENYNS

¹ This fragment and the ewer, which have been dated to the T'ang Dynasty, are illustrated in Brankston's paper, already referred to, in the *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 1938-9, vol. xvi, Pl. 5 B and 6 A respectively. See also *B.M.Q.*, xiii (1938-9), 46-47.

² *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of*

Chinese Art in London, vol. ii—*Porcelain*, page 111, no. 139.

³ *Oriental Ceramic Society Catalogue: Loan Exhibition of Chinese Blue and White Porcelain, 14th to 19th centuries*. Arts Council Gallery, 4 St. James's Square, S.W. 1, 16 December 1953 to 23 January 1954, no. 62.

A DRAWING BY CHARLES LE BRUN FOR THE
PASSAGE DU RHIN IN THE *GRANDE*
GALERIE AT VERSAILLES

THE *Grande Galerie*, or *Galerie des Glaces*, at Versailles is the best-known work of Louis XIV's court painter, Charles Le Brun (b. 1619: d. 1690), and is indeed one of the most splendid monuments of all northern Baroque art. It was executed between 1679 and 1684, and Le Brun was responsible for designing its entire decoration, of which the principal feature is the ceiling painted, in 1681-4, in compartments with subjects glorifying the martial and civil achievements of *Le Roi Soleil*.

Recently the Department of Prints and Drawings acquired a preliminary study by Le Brun for one of these compartments (Pl. xxii *a*), an allegory on Louis XIV's *Passage du Rhin en Présence des ennemis* 1672. It is in pen and brown ink with grey wash over red chalk on a sheet measuring 22 × 38.8 cm. (8½ × 15½ in.), and bears the mark (*Lugt*, 2693) of the Dutch-German collector, Johannes von Ross (b. 1787: d. 1848). The composition shows the monarch attired in the customary Roman armour, with thunderbolt in hand, furiously driving his chariot across the river, to the consternation of Holland, her lion, and her cities who offer up their keys to the conqueror. Above fly Minerva and the French Victories, and below the chariot tumble in disorder figures symbolic of Dutch Maritime Power and Commerce. The rear is brought up by a threatening Hercules and a pair of angry trumpeting Fames directing their blast at a frightened Father Rhine. The high finish of the drawing, comparable with other studies in the Louvre for the decorations of the *Grande Galerie*,¹ doubtless denotes a late stage in the working-out of the composition, bringing it very near to the ceiling as eventually painted (Pl. xxii *b*). But there were still details to be modified before the final version was transferred to the plaster: most curious is the metamorphosis of the crocodile at the bottom (presumably symbolic of the Dutch Colonies) into a bag of gold. The drawing also shows that originally a comparatively simple form of painted architecture was contemplated, this subsequently being expanded into the sumptuous Carraccesque ornament of the finished work.

Obviously the general composition ultimately derives from two well-known Roman *seicento* ceilings, the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* of Annibale Carracci at the Palazzo Farnese (before 1604) and the *Aurora* of Guido Reni at the Palazzo Rospigliosi (1609), in both of which a procession with a chariot is the principal feature. But, surprisingly enough, there was also a ceiling in England which provided a more immediate model. A glance at Plate xxiii *a* will show how closely the *Passage du Rhin* is related to the allegory on Charles II's Restoration painted by Antonio Verrio (b. 1639: d. 1707) for the ceiling of the King's Withdrawing

Room at Windsor Castle, reproduced here from the engraving after it by Pierre Vandrebanc (b. 1649: d. 1697). Besides the central incident of the chariot, a number of other affinities will be noted: Hercules appears as a prominent figure in both compositions, though with Le Brun he threatens the Rhine on the right, while with Verrio he more conventionally clubs the forces of Evil in the foreground; Le Brun's Rhine-maiden just below Louis XIV's chariot-wheel corresponds with Verrio's figure of Painting gazing upwards; and the suppliant Dutch cities on the left, holding out their keys, take the place of the pagan deities proffering their gifts to Charles. One would, as a matter of course, have expected to find that Verrio had 'lifted' his design from that of Le Brun, who, after all, was virtually head of the school of Italo-French Baroque which Verrio imported into England. But Verrio's ceiling is known definitely to have been executed in 1675-8: 'Seignior Verrio . . . For Painting his M^{ties} Withdrawing Roome . . . £200',² whereas the project for the *Grande Galerie* was not conceived till 1678, and Le Brun's ceilings not begun till 1681.³

The implication is, then, that it was Le Brun who followed Verrio; and this he could only have done by making use of Vandrebanc's engraving. Another preliminary drawing for the *Passage du Rhin*, in the Louvre⁴ (Pl. xxiii b), shows that at some stage, in planning the design, a layout of the composition in reverse was contemplated—much nearer in conception to the Roman prototypes—with the chariot and figures moving towards the right. But for some reason the less obvious Verrio model was eventually decided upon, resulting in the subject as represented by the British Museum drawing and the final version on the ceiling. The story, indeed, throws a curious sidelight on artistic relations between France and England at this period.

E. CROFT-MURRAY

¹ Cf. Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire des Dessins du . . . Louvre et . . . de Versailles*, vii, 1912, pp. 116-23.

² W. H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, i, 1913, p. 317.

³ Charles Mauriceau-Beaupré, *Versailles; L'Histoire et L'Art*, 1949, pp. 39-40.

⁴ Guiffrey and Marcel, op. cit., p. 120, no. 5821.

SOME LATE ANGLO-SAXON PENCE

IN this note it is hoped to illustrate the way in which routine acquisitions over the past three years throw light on more than one aspect of what we may call the First English Coinage, the issues of the Saxon kings from Alfred until the Norman Conquest. Coins purchased under the special provisions of the regulations concerning treasure trove are deliberately excluded from this survey, as it is planned to devote an entire paper to them in the near future. It is not perhaps realized how rich the Museum is in late Anglo-Saxon pence, nor the extent to which the collections have been reinforced since the publication of the long-outdated but still standard Catalogue more than sixty years ago. Even so, there

are still disturbing weaknesses, due in the main to failure to enforce the law of treasure trove in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it will be some considerable time before the National Collection can claim to be fully representative as regards this important series.

A sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hoard of pence of Edward the Elder (899-924) was one of the glories of Sir Robert Cotton's cabinet, and in consequence the National Collection has never been weak as regards the early tenth century. However, this Cotton hoard, now in the process of publication for the first time as a find, was artificially strong in coins that we can now attribute to the latter part of Edward's long reign and to Western Mercia. Moreover, two large hoards from Rome have provided private collectors with large numbers of more representative coins, and it must be confessed that the Museum collection fails to give a balanced picture of Edward's coinage as a whole. This state of affairs has been partially remedied by a generous gift from Mr. Herbert Schneider of Antwerp, a proportion of which has been devoted to the purchase of twelve pennies that fill some of the more serious gaps.

Six of these coins are illustrated here. Earliest in point of date is that of the unpublished moneyer Bionnede (?) (Pl. xxiv, 1), a good example of the rare 'Southern Transitional' style that bridges the lacuna between early coins in style virtually indistinguishable from 'West Saxon' pence of Alfred and late issues in a new idiom that persists well into the reign of Æthelstan. Probably a few years later in date is a penny of the moneyer Eof(e)rmund (Pl. xxiv, 2) who is especially associated with the Shrewsbury area. The style of this 'Mercian' coin is likewise transitional, and the large and straggling script is in marked contrast to that found on late coins from the same region, of which one by the Chester moneyer Beorard (Pl. xxiv, 3) is characteristic. For the first time we may remark the use of a five-stroke M that under Æthelstan becomes one of the surest criteria for identifying the products of the north-western group of mints. In the reconquered Danelaw a quite different idiom prevailed, and a penny of the moneyer Landuc or Landac (Pl. xxiv, 4) may be considered typical. In complete contrast is another late penny by the London moneyer Liofhelm (Pl. xxiv, 5) with its neat Roman script, consistently barred A, and conscious differentiation in size and form of the initial cross and final X of the obverse legend. A very similar reverse is found on the notably rarer portrait coins exemplified by a penny of the moneyer Sigod or Sigott (Pl. xxiv, 6).

Also presented by Mr. Schneider was a completely unpublished coin of Eadmund (940-6) struck by a certain Teothred (= Theodræd?) (Pl. xxiv, 7). Only one other coin of this moneyer is recorded, and that of the following reign. The use of rosettes as ornaments in the field we are now beginning to recognize as characteristic of dies cut in the Chester area, where it would seem to have succeeded the five-stroke M as a deliberate privy mark distinguishing the coins

of the whole area. The existence of such a criterion is especially valuable for the numismatist, as only a handful of coins of Eadmund and his immediate successors bear the name of the place where they were struck. An example is afforded by a most important purchase at the recent Parsons Sale (Pl. xxiv, 8) where the obverse legend ends REO, which is probably to be expanded as Rex Eoferwic in allusion to Eadmund's reconquest of York in 945. The moneyer Faraman or Farman was closely associated with the York mint, for his name is found on coins struck at that city on behalf of the Norwegian interloper Regnald Guthfrithsson.

A feature of the names of the tenth-century moneyers is that so many are of Continental origin. With a very few exceptions—for example the piece just described—Scandinavian names become common only under Eadgar. A good example of a Germanic name is found on an unpublished penny of Eadwig (955–9) (Pl. xxiv, 9). Hitherto the moneyer Isembert was known only for the succeeding reign, and the style of the coin suggests that he was dependent for his dies on a centre in the East Midlands, possibly Lincoln. Omission of the mint-name was a practice that persisted well into the reign of Eadgar (959–75), and this makes all the more valuable a gift from Miss E. R. Allen-Mason of a penny of the moneyer Æthelsige (Pl. xxiv, 10). The mint-name is perhaps ambiguous—it was read as Huntingdon when the coin was sold in the Grantley Sale of 1944 whereas Northampton may seem preferable—but at least the moneyer is associated with the Eastern Danelaw. The association is doubly important because Æthelsige was the moneyer of the entirely new type of Eadwig of which two examples occurred in the 1950 Chester Treasure Trove.

Among the rarities of the late Saxon series are the coins of Edward the Martyr (975–9), and a second purchase from the Parsons Sale is notable for the indication it gives that this rarity is due not only to the shortness of the reign but also to the accident of discovery. The coin (Pl. xxiv, 11) was struck at Canterbury by a moneyer Ælfstan, and the reading of the mint-name is unequivocal. Not only does this confirm the Canterbury attribution of another penny of Ælfstan where the mint-name is blundered EÆNT, but the fact that two pairs of dies were used by the one moneyer suggests that coinage was still on a considerable scale.

For the period 980–1050 the Museum cannot hope seriously to compete with the wealth of the great Scandinavian collections, where a more drastic law of treasure trove has been administered with great consistency since the seventeenth century. Something like 40,000 Anglo-Saxon coins have been discovered in the little Baltic island of Gotland alone, whereas English hoards of this period, when recorded, have been on a small scale and few and far between. All coins of the 'Danegeld' period are in consequence extremely welcome, though almost inevitably already published in the classic works of B. E. Hildebrand and C. A. Nordman. About 970 Eadgar completely reformed the English coinage, making the royal portrait an essential of the obverse and insisting that the name of the

mint as well as of the moneyer should appear on the reverse. The new type was perpetuated under Edward the Martyr and for a time under Æthelræd II (979–1016). About 985, however, Æthelræd tired of uniformity and replaced the small cross on the reverse by a representation of the Hand of Providence. A little later the obverse also was differentiated by the addition of a sceptre, and the reverse slightly modified. A typical coin of this period is another recent acquisition, a penny of the Totnes moneyer Hunewine (Pl. xxiv, 12). A year or so later the type was further modified, but almost immediately superseded. Coins of this third variety are in consequence extremely rare—in 1893 the Museum possessed one example only—and a most welcome purchase at the Parsons Sale was a good specimen struck at Canterbury by the moneyer Leofric (Pl. xxiv, 13).

Recent work by a Swedish scholar on the great Igelösa find from Skåne suggests that shortly before the millennium the York mint issued unauthorized variants of the official type. The most obvious of these was wrongly classified by Hildebrand in the absence of decisive hoard evidence, and the great Swedish numismatist also failed to distinguish an important intermediate variety hitherto unrepresented in the National Collection (Pl. xxiv, 14), a penny of the moneyer Thurstan struck about 995. The king is shown both diademed and with sceptre, whereas on coins of the true type the diadem is omitted for the first time in the history of the Saxon coinage.

A consequence of the St. Brice's massacre was that Danish attacks on England were accompanied by considerably more devastation than had been hitherto the case. The great harrying of Wessex in 1003 has left its mark on the coinage, and a number of mints either ceased to strike altogether or began to strike on a greatly reduced scale. Bridport was one of these, and no coins are known from the period of six or seven years immediately following the sack. Even for the period 997–1003 coins are notably rare—probably because of an earlier descent in 998—and the Museum was fortunate to buy at the Parsons Sale a fine penny of the moneyer Eadnoth (Pl. xxiv, 15). When Sweyn burnt Wilton in 1003 the moneyers fled for safety to Old Sarum, and it was ten years before coins were struck once more in the valley. No Salisbury coins are known of Æthelræd's first four substantive types, and no Wilton coins of his fifth. Consequently we may assume that Wilton was sacked at the very end of the fourth type's currency, and it is by systematic consideration of such minutiae that we are beginning to establish not only the sequence of late Saxon coin types but also their approximate chronology.¹ Illustrated are one of the last coins struck at Wilton before the sack, a penny of the moneyer Godwine presented by Mr. Schneider (Pl. xxiv, 16), and one of the first pennies struck at Old Sarum, an unpublished coin of the moneyer Sæwine presented by Mr. F. Elmore Jones (Pl. xxiv, 17). Both Godwine and Sæwine, incidentally, were among the lucky few who escaped from Wilton and were able immediately to resume striking behind the ramparts of Old Sarum.

Very few Saxon coins reproduce the name of the mint in its entirety. Sometimes only the first letter appears, but more usually the first three or four. Fuller readings are of course of great philological interest, but occur only on those coins where the name of the moneyer is unusually short. Such uncompounded personal names are themselves of no little interest, and a valuable recent acquisition was a penny of the Warwick moneyer Hyse struck late in Æthelræd's reign and reading on the reverse + HYSE ON PÆRINGAPICA (Pl. xxiv, 18). Even more important was yet another purchase at the Parsons Sale, a penny of the moneyer God struck at Cadbury at the same time as the Hyse penny at Warwick. The reverse reads + GOD ON CADANBYRI M (Pl. xxiv, 19), the final M presumably being a contraction of the Latin 'monetarius' or a Saxon equivalent. Cadbury was one of the most ephemeral of the late Saxon mints, coins being known only from the decade 1010–20. Recent research suggests very strongly that it was an emergency mint set up in a hill-top burgh and staffed by refugees from Crewkerne and Ilchester who returned to their homes when Cnut's final victory brought peace once more to the Somerset countryside.

It will be noticed that the surface of many coins of this period is marred by minute 'pecks', the coins appearing to have been nicked with a small gouge as though to establish that they were of pure silver throughout. Presumably this was done as a check on forgery, but hitherto we have had no opportunity of confirming this theory, a seemingly fatal objection being that no plated forgeries were known, though every other coin in some Scandinavian hoards had been subjected to the test. A most generous gift by Mr. D. Schooling of Much Hadham clears up the whole mystery. The coin in question (Pl. xxiv, 20) was unearthed near his home, and purports to be a penny of the Winchester moneyer Byrhstan struck between 1010 and 1016. On closer examination, however, it is found to consist of a 'lead' core sealed between two thin sheets of 'silver'—though laboratory tests will be needed to establish the exact composition and nature of the component alloys. The 'lead' core explains why these forgeries are now so rare, though once so prevalent, as it is only under the most favourable conditions that such a lead-cored forgery would not disintegrate in the soil. No genuine coin can be traced from the dies used for this particular forgery, but Byrhstan was a most prolific moneyer and there is no reason to believe that the dies were not the product of the official Winchester workshop. Byrhstan, incidentally, seems to have escaped detection as regards his nefarious products, for he continued to strike under Cnut (1016–35).

Recent research in Scandinavia has established that one type of Cnut is considerably less common than the three that preceded it, and also that the Museum possesses more examples than might have been anticipated. From this it may be inferred that it was the type of which the issue was interrupted by his death. It is an interesting type, for the obverse seems to be adapted from a very rare late

Roman type of gold solidus which is not recorded as occurring in English finds but which Cnut might well have been shown in the course of his pilgrimage to Rome. Likewise due to the generosity of Mr. Elmore Jones was the acquisition by the Museum of a completely unpublished coin of this type struck by the Huntingdon moneyer Ælfwine (Pl. xxiv, 21). Hitherto Ælfwine was known at Huntingdon only from a unique penny of Harthacnut in Stockholm.

Another rare Somerset mint is Langport, and perhaps the most important of all the purchases at the Parsons Sale was a superb penny of Harthacnut (1040-2) struck by a moneyer with the philologically intriguing name of Dunberd (Pl. xxiv, 22). It will be noticed that the types of this coin are identical with those of the last issue of Cnut. By reverting to them Harthacnut was subtly proclaiming the illegality of the interregnum of 1035-40. The coinage of his successor Edward the Confessor (1042-65) falls naturally into two phases. The early issues are 'traditional' in their types, but the later are distinguished by innovations that pave the way for the coinage of the Norman kings. There is some reason for thinking that Edward brought in new men from abroad to remodel the coinage as far as the production of dies was concerned. Certainly the old system broke down completely at least twice in the first dozen years of the reign, c. 1048 when a shortage of obverse dies was met by reissuing dies not only of the first issue but also of Cnut, and c. 1052 when recourse once more was had to 'muling' of new reverse dies with old obverses. Two purchases at the Parsons Sale illustrate well the second of these periods of crisis. Both are from the York mint, one by the moneyer Arcil or Arncetel (Pl. xxiv, 23), the other by the moneyer Scula (Pl. xxiv, 24). In the first case the obverse die is one of the penultimate issue—in the immediately preceding type the coins were struck on considerably smaller flans and consequently the dies were unsuitable for use in conjunction with those employed for producing pennies of normal size.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ Cf. *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 1954 (May), pp. 152-6.

A PORTRAIT OF CLAUDIUS

THE Greek and Roman Department has acquired, through the generosity of the National Art-Collections Fund, the head of a Roman, in Parian marble, of the first half of the first century A.D. (Pl. xxv).¹ There is little doubt of its being a portrait of Claudius—who in A.D. 41 reluctantly became Emperor of Rome in his fiftieth year—although the delicate Hellenistic style and sensitive modelling give him a character more attractive than do most of his portraits, whether in sculpture or on the coins, whilst Roman writers are even less kind.

The scale, a little under life-size, is unusual for an Imperial statue, though not

unknown in reliefs: it is, for instance, that of the main frieze on the Ara Pacis.² Can our head have come from a relief? The answer to that question depends on how one interprets a technical feature—the head is tooled flat at the back, and in the middle of the flat surface is an iron dowel: surface and dowel both look ancient; the head was therefore joined to something else, either when it was first carved or later. There are no surviving Roman marble reliefs made with separate figures fastened to a flat background: nor is it probable, although possible, that the head was added to a relief as a substitute or a repair. Two alternatives remain: either the cutting is not original, or it was intended for the attachment of drapery, which could only have been the toga, drawn up over the head.³

What of the date? The features are so strongly idealized that the age of the sitter cannot be determined. One would be inclined to put it as under fifty, were it not that some portraits of Claudius as Emperor also make him look far younger than that; and our head is not unlike the colossal statues of Cervetri and Lanuvium, when allowance is made for the difference of scale.⁴

In this head and a sardonix cameo,⁵ also presented by the National Art-Collections Fund, the Museum now possesses two of the most interesting portraits of Claudius extant.

BERNARD ASHMOLE

¹ 1951, 3–30, 1. Ht. 8½ in. Find-spot unknown; formerly in the collection of Baron Cederström, husband of Madame Patti, the singer.

² Cf. also the reliefs in the Villa Medici (de Azevedo, *Villa Medici*, pp. 9 ff., pls. I ff.), some of which may come from the Ara Pietatis Augustae; and, for style especially, the fine fragment in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Amelung, *Bull. Com.* lii (1924), p. 260), sometimes thought to be from an arch of Tiberius.

³ That the figure was draped is suggested by projections of marble on either side of the neck. These *togati velati*, usually sacrificing, are common enough; often the toga lies well behind the

ears: heads of such statues are sometimes inset, and often in one piece with the drapery round them; but not always so, as the head from Cyme proves: there the back of the head is a separate piece (Mendel, *Constant. Cat.* ii, p. 90, no. 333; I. Montini, *Il ritratto di Augusto*, p. 67 (fig.)).

⁴ For portraits of Claudius see West, *Röm. Porträt-Plastik*, pp. 205 ff., pls. lvi–lvii; C. Pietrangeli, *La Famiglia di Augusto* (1938), pp. 78, 107 (a useful list with refs.); add F. Poulsen, *Röm. Privatportr. u. Prinzenbilder*, p. 29, figs. 40–42; Strong in *Cambridge Ancient History*, x, p. 561, with plates, vol. iv, p. 126.

⁵ *B.M.Q.* xiii. 79.

AN EARLY GREEK INVALID CUP

THE Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities has recently acquired an unusual Attic cup (Pl. xxvi).¹ It has two horizontal handles, a fairly deep body, and an offset rim, features which are characteristic of the ordinary form of cup in the Geometric period, but the top, instead of being open, is roofed in with a shallow, uneven dome of clay, pierced with a great number of small holes; and a spout projects from the middle of one side of the rim. The vase is complete except for an irregular disk missing from the centre of the top; no doubt this part was made separately and fixed in place with a clay slip which has given way.

On many Geometric cups the decoration in the handle-zone on either side consists of a central motif flanked by a pair of birds, while a simple pattern runs round the rim without interruption;² our vase has a chain of dotted lozenges on the rim and a chequered panel as the centre-piece of the handle-zone. In each of the triangular spaces between the handle-zone and the handles themselves there is a dot rosette attached to the lower border by a further line of dots; it is tempting to call this device a rosette-plant, though the Geometric artists probably did not regard it in that light.³ At first glance there seems little difference between the decoration of the two sides, but a closer examination reveals that the side with the spout is slightly more elaborate and original, so that we may feel justified in speaking of it as the front. On the back the birds have short legs and long, straight beaks, and the wing is shown as a detached panel with vertical hatching;⁴ the filling ornament in the background is cursory—a zigzag, a column of V's, another of M's. On the front the bird on the left belongs to the same species, though its body is covered with plain hatching without any attempt to indicate the wing, but the right-hand bird is very different, with a suggestion of the heron in the stilt-like legs and the set of the head. The filling ornament includes two stars, a rosette, and a rosette-plant, and each of the light squares in the chequer-pattern has a dot in the middle; this embellishment, though not uncommon in Attic vase-painting of two or three centuries later, is extremely rare in the period to which our cup belongs, but with this exception numerous parallels for the various components of the decoration can easily be found on Attic Geometric vases. Such features as the rather careless execution of the lozenge-chain round the rim and the proportions of the decorated panels in the handle-zone point to a comparatively late stage in the development of Geometric art, though the disintegration of the style has not yet gone very far, and the shape of the cup agrees well with this estimate of the relative date;⁵ the absolute chronology of Geometric pottery is still controversial, but it may safely be said that the vase was made during the second half of the eighth century B.C.

The spout and covered top, though not unique,⁶ are sufficiently remarkable to demand an explanation. The spout makes one think of the Victorian moustache-cup, but the perforated cover recalls the strainer on the top of a variety of baby's feeding-cup used in antiquity,⁷ and must surely have served the same purpose. If this supposition is correct, the vase is best regarded as an invalid-cup designed for a patient on a diet of soup or broth, and the strainer would be intended to prevent anything except the liquid entering the cup when it was filled. But one difficulty still remains; on all the other examples the perforated top is concave, so that soup could be poured in without too much risk of overflowing, but the domed top of our vase would make such a procedure impossible. One can only suggest that it was dipped into the soup-pan; the outside of the cup would get

extremely messy, but in an Athenian sick-room of the eighth century the standard of hygiene was perhaps not very exacting.

P. E. CORBETT

¹ Registration number 1954, 4-2, 1. Height, 11.1 cm. Maximum diameter, 14.5 cm. Width across the handles, 19.4 cm.

² e.g. *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xliii, 1918, pl. vi; Kübler, *Kerameikos*, v, pl. 97.

³ e.g. *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xliii, 1918, pl. iv, 5, now British Museum 1912, 7-18, 1; a jug on which a rosette with a stem of dots hangs down from the neck of a horse.

⁴ Other Attic examples of this stylization of the wing: *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xliii, 1918, pl. iii; pl. iv, 3; *Fahrbuch*, xiv, 1899, p. 209, fig. 82.

⁵ e.g. vases from two graves found during the excavations in the Athenian Agora; *Hesperia*, Supplement 2, p. 89, fig. 60; ix, 1940, p. 271, fig. 7. For the shape compare also the cup on the lid of a krater in Munich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, pl. 105.

⁶ See *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Munich, vol. iii, p. 20 on pl. 119, 6, where references to other examples are given.

⁷ e.g. *Mnemisyne*, 1934; G. A. S. Snijder, *Guttus und Verwandte*, pl. 1, 3.



a



b



c

XVIII. BRONZE SQUATTING FIGURE OF AN ASSYRIAN KING

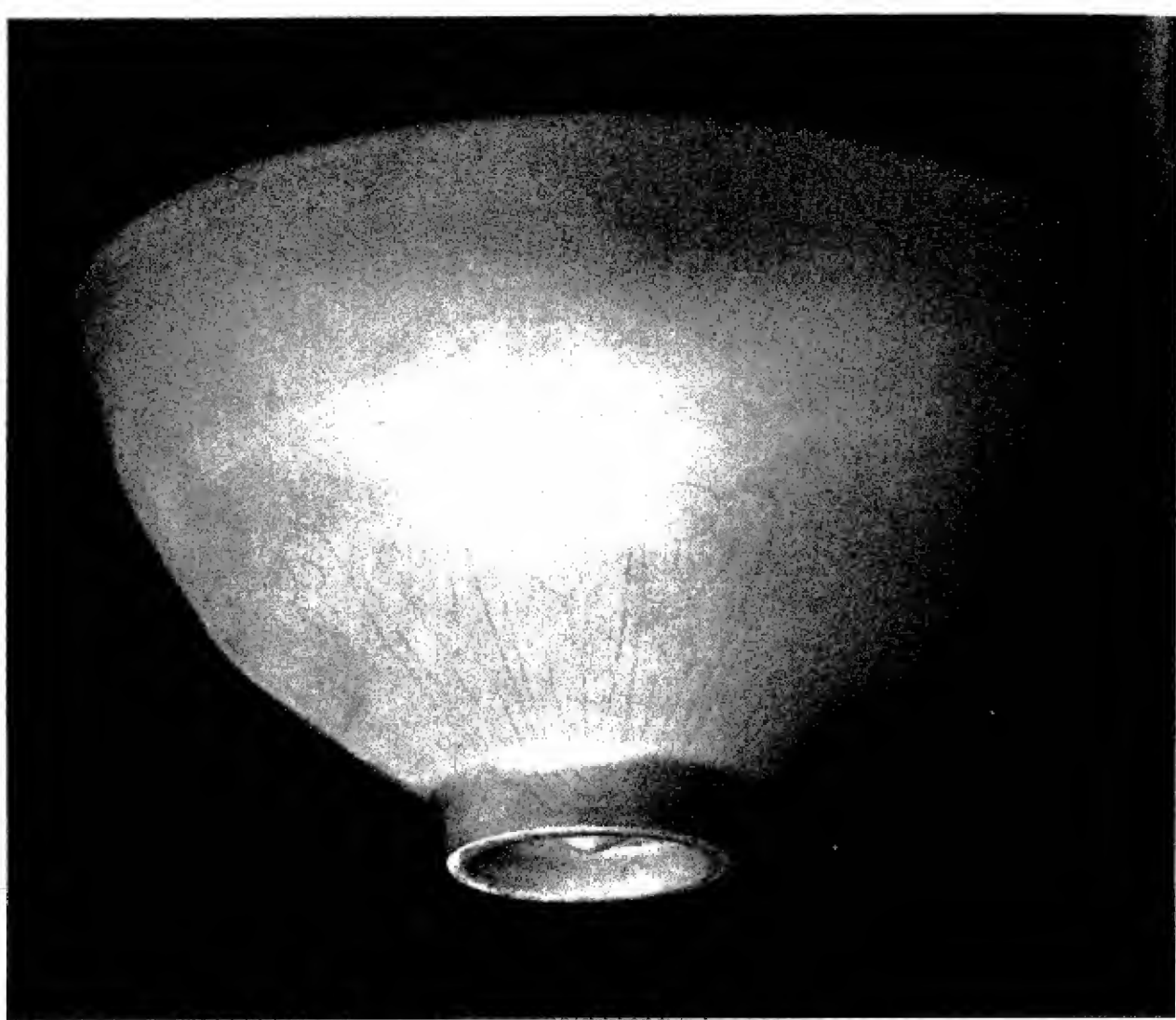
a. Under

b. Front

c. Back



XIX. FINDS FROM THE MESOLITHIC HABITATION-SITE AT STAR CARR, YORKS.



XX. WHITE BOWL: CHINESE: YUNG LO PERIOD (A.D. 1403-1434)

Diameter: $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.



XXI. BLUE-AND-WHITE SAUCER DISH: CHINESE: MARK AND PERIOD OF HSUAN T'É

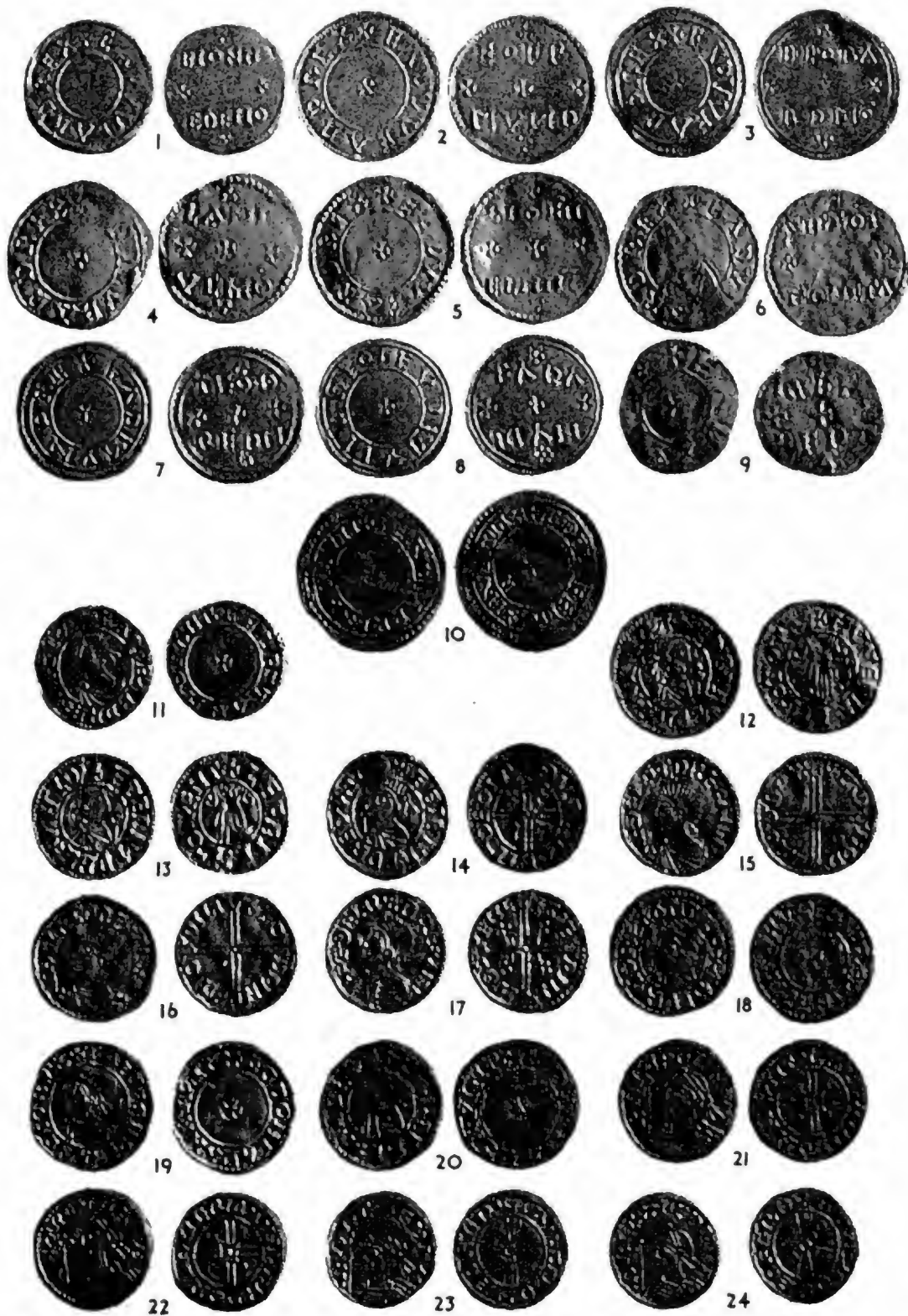
(A.D. 1426-1435) Diameter: 8 in.

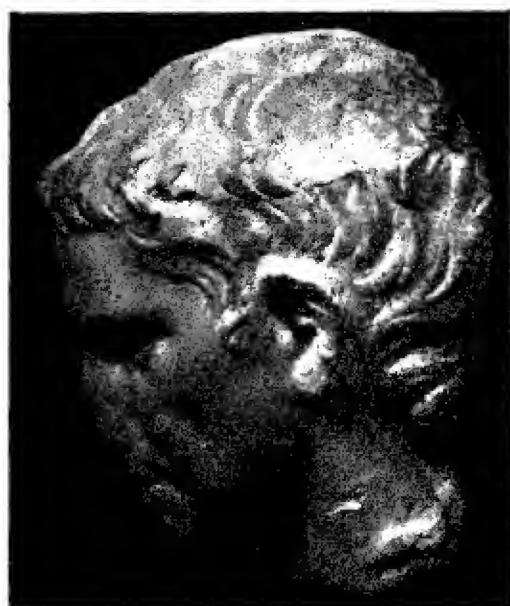
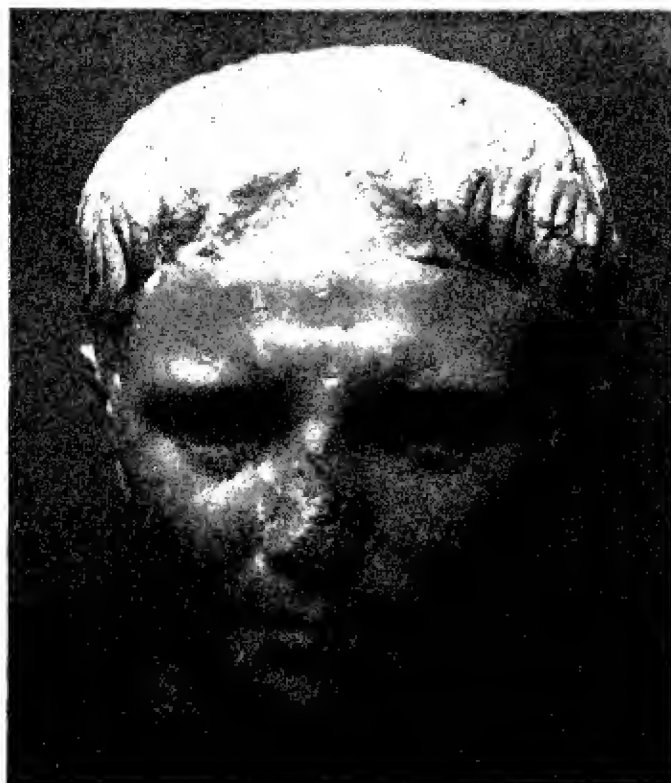


XXII. a. Charles Le Brun: *Le Passage du Rhin*. Preliminary drawing. *The British Museum*
 b. Charles Le Brun: *Le Passage du Rhin*. Final composition. *Engraving*

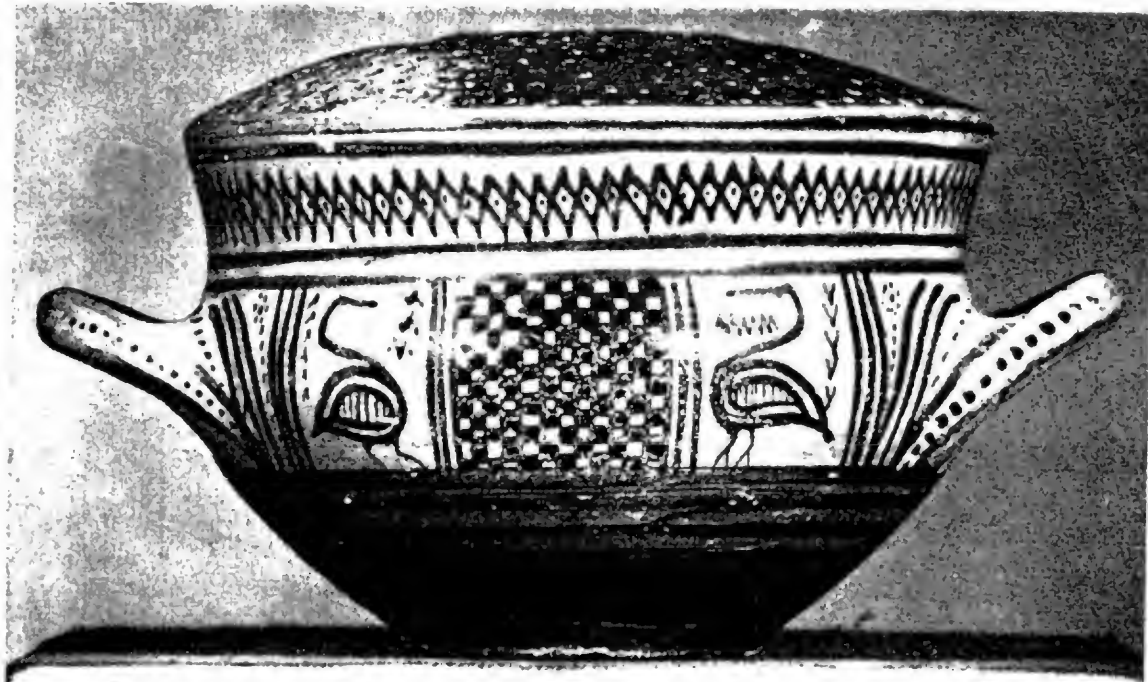


XXIII. a. Antonio Verrio: *The Restoration of Charles II.* Engraving by Pierre Vandrebanc
b. Charles Le Brun: *Le Passage du Rhin.* Preliminary drawing. The Louvre





XXV. A PORTRAIT OF CLAUDIUS



XXVI. AN EARLY GREEK INVALID CUP

A PORTUGUESE INCUNABLE

THE British Museum has been fortunate enough to acquire one of the rarest, as well as one of the most splendid, of all Portuguese books, the *Vita Christi*, printed at Lisbon in 1495 by the 'masters and partners' ('meestres y parceiros') Nicolao de Saxonia and Valentim de Moravia, and probably the first book printed in Portuguese. With the exception of a copy in the Henry E. Huntington library at San Marino, California, and another, incomplete, in the library of Harvard College, Massachusetts, the present acquisition is perhaps the only copy of this noble work outside Portugal. The *Vita Christi*, whose author was the German Ludolph von Sachsen [1300-c. 1370] 'prior do moesteyro muy honrado de Argentina [Strassburg] da ordem muy excellente da Cartuxa', was translated 'em lingoa materna e portugues linguagem' by the Cistercian monks Frei Nicolao de Vieira (who began the work) and Frei Bernardo de Alcobaça (†1478?), described by some writers¹ as Abbot of the Monastery of St. Paul near Coimbra, though it seems more probable that he was a monk at the great Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça.² The foundation at Alcobaça was, with Santa Cruz at Coimbra, the centre of learning and culture during the first centuries of the Portuguese monarchy. The translation was made at the instance of the Infanta dona Isabel, Duchess of Coimbra and Lady of Montemor, and was completed in 1445 (the manuscript being preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon). Fifty years later, it was ordered to be printed by that great patron of Portuguese culture, Queen Leonor, wife of Dom João II.

The *Vita Christi* was the only work to be published jointly by Nicolao de Saxonia and Valentim de Moravia, and there is little doubt that the latter was the senior partner: he writes the 'Prohemial epistola' to Dom João, and describes himself: 'eu Valêtinio de moravia cō meu parceiro Nicolao de Saxonia'. Little is known about the 'parceiro', or partner, Nicolao de Saxonia: possibly he came from Germany especially to help in the production of this important work. On the dissolution of the partnership, he established an independent press, completing a Compostela Breviary on 31 May 1497 and a Braga Missal on 20 June 1498. It is not known if he stayed on in Portugal after 1498. The senior partner, Valentim de Moravia, or, as he is often described, Valentim Fernandes alemão, was unquestionably the finest printer of his day in Portugal; he was, as his name implies, German, but had adopted, in the Portuguese style, the patronymic Fernandes. He is known also as a translator into Portuguese, while his learning is shown by his writings on the recent geographical discoveries and on the astrolabe. His activities included that of official broker and interpreter to the German merchants at Lisbon, and he is described as 'escudeiro' to the Queen.³ He continued printing in Lisbon during the period 1496-1518, completing some half-dozen further books before the close of the century. His death must

have occurred shortly after 1518 (the date of his last book, the *Repertório dos Tempos*), since it is referred to in a document dated 4 May 1519.³

The *Vita Christi* consists of four large folio volumes and is printed in a handsome Gothic text type 119 G., closely resembling in design a group of types of Venetian affinities used by various Seville printers in the 1490's, beginning in 1492 with the 117 G. of Peter Brun and Juan Gentil. The production is noteworthy as being the first Portuguese book to possess woodcuts, and particularly fine ones at that. The religious engravings were most likely imported from Germany, and the large cut of the Crucifixion (see Pl. xxvii) is attributed by Haebler to a German artist, 'the master E. S.'. Dom Manuel notes a slight variation of detail:⁴ in the *Vita Christi* woodcut, drops of blood are shown falling from the hands of Christ into chalices held by Angels, whereas in an earlier metal cut (1466) by the same artist, although the Angels hold chalices, no drops of blood are shown. The other woodcuts show the Royal Arms of Dom João II and Queen Leonor, and two emblems: the first, a pelican in her piety, with the motto 'Pola lei e pola grei' (for the law and for the flock), was the device of Dom João, which he had adopted while still a Prince, in honour of the Princess his wife; the second, usually, though perhaps erroneously, called a *Camaroeiro* (shrimping-net) was the device adopted by Queen Leonor after the tragic death in 1491 of her son Dom Affonso after a fall from horseback near Santarem; one tradition says that the Prince fell near a fisherman's cottage, and was taken thither in a fishing-net, which thus became to the Queen a symbol of her grief and a device to perpetuate her son's memory. A curious feature of this woodcut in the *Vita Christi* is that, through an error which Fernandes later corrected in his *Autos dos Apóstolos*, the device is printed reversed and upside down.

The *Vita Christi* is one of a group of translations or adaptations to Portuguese of works belonging to the general patrimony of medieval culture; others include the *Boosco deleitoso*, the *Flos Sanctorum*, and the *Castello perigoso*, and all are of great importance in the history of the formation and development of the Portuguese language, whose forms were thereby enriched and given flexibility. Having no claim to originality, they are yet of supreme importance in helping the language to acquire what has been aptly called its 'original virtuosidade'.

H. G. WHITEHEAD AND G. D. PAINTER

¹ Notably, *Early Portuguese Books . . . in the library of the King of Portugal. Described by H.M. King Manuel*. London, 1929, vol. 1. The *Vita Christi* is described very fully on pp. 44-79 of this work, to which readers are referred.

² Cf. F. de S. Boaventura, *História . . . da Real Abbadia de Alcobaça*, Lisbon, 1827, ch. 6.

³ King Manuel, op. cit. i. 57.

⁴ King Manuel, op. cit. i. 60.

THE TOLLEMACHE OROSIUS

AMONGST the Latin originals which Alfred the Great translated into Old English prose was the *Historiae adversus Paganos*, written in the fifth century by Paulus Orosius, which had established itself as a standard manual of instruction. In preparing his translations or paraphrases, the king, as he explained elsewhere, sought to instruct in their native tongue those of his subjects who enjoyed the leisure for study. In the case of the Orosius he also set before his readers an epitome of universal history and geography, not a little coloured by his own interpolations and omissions. If minute fragments of two copies of the eleventh century, amounting in all to no more than three leaves, and modern transcripts be disregarded, it may be said that this work survives only in the present manuscript, which is ascribed to the first half of the tenth century (Pl. xxviii), and in Cotton MS. Tiberius B. i, which is of about the same date as the two fragments, and is closely related to, though not perhaps directly copied from, the Tollemache text. Unfortunately that text now lacks the original (second) quire or gathering containing Alfred's description of Europe and his account of the voyages of exploration by Ohthere to the White Sea and by Wulfstan in the Baltic; this all-important quire, which must have been deliberately abstracted, was replaced in the seventeenth century by a copy that derives ultimately from the Cotton version.

Apart from the light thrown on the state of historical and geographical knowledge in this country in the ninth century by the Old English Orosius and the literary merit of the work, the Tollemache MS. is of great importance on grounds of philology (it is one of the three primary authorities for the early West Saxon dialect), of palaeography, and, to some extent, of book-decoration. Yet its place of origin is somewhat uncertain, and little is known of the hands through which it passed before 1850, when Joseph Bosworth first examined it at Helmingham Hall. Resemblance between its hand and those of entries covering the years 892-924 in the Parker MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the similar phraseology of the two, and features shared with Royal MS. 12 D. xvii in the British Museum and Junius MS. 27 in the Bodleian Library, all suggest that the Tollemache Orosius was a Winchester product. The first recorded fact in its history is the statement of George Hickes, in 1688, that it had been in the library of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale. Hickes added that the manuscript had formerly belonged to Dr. John Dee (d. 1608), but that assertion seems to be insusceptible of proof. On the duke's death, in 1682, his library became the property of his widow, and from her the Orosius passed to the descendants of her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, of Helmingham, 3rd Baronet.

On 26 March 1715, according to an entry in his diary, Humfrey Wanley

urged Robert Harley to take steps to secure this Orosius. Had Harley followed the advice of his librarian, the manuscript would have entered the British Museum in 1753, exactly two centuries before it was acquired. Since its purchase from the Tollemache Trustees with the aid of a special grant from H.M. Treasury—it is now numbered Add. MS. 47967—a complete reproduction, edited by Mr. Alistair Campbell, has been published as the third volume of the series of *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, under the title *The Tollemache Orosius*.

A. J. COLLINS

THE MEMOIRS OF DR. BURNEY

THE Barrett collection of Burney papers (Egerton MSS. 3690–3708) was purchased in 1952 (see *British Museum Quarterly*, xviii. 41–43). This year, as a result of a generous bequest to the Museum by Mr. Arthur Hawley, a further item of interest to students of the Burney family has been acquired by the Department of Manuscripts from a considerable archive relating to Dr. Charles Burney, the music historian (1726–1814), which has reached the market from various sources.

The new acquisition, now numbered Add. MS. 48345, consists chiefly of material from Dr. Burney's original unfinished Memoirs. According to Fanny Burney (Mme d'Arblay), his daughter, the work was first planned in 1782, then abandoned and not resumed until 1807. It was never finished. After her father's death Fanny published what she considered to be of interest as *The Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, 1832, and stated that she had destroyed the rest. Here apparently, however, are a few fragments of an original draft in Burney's hand. There are two consecutive series of half pages covering the years 1742–5 and 1746–51, part of an Index to the same, and three fragments relating to the years 1742, 1751–4, and 1803. These fragments afford a tantalizing glimpse of what has been lost. The references to Burney's flight from Chester and the story of his imposture as Mr. Arnold when he first came to London are new. Other parts of Fanny's narrative can now be supplemented. There is, for example, an indication of the terms of Burney's apprenticeship to Arne, and further information regarding the pretended Society of the Temple of Apollo. At Drury Lane Theatre Burney was employed 'as a supernumerary Violin or Tenor' in the orchestra and became acquainted with Oswald, 'the Scottish Orpheus', who kept a music shop on the pavement of St. Martin's churchyard. Burney says that Oswald '... obtained a patent for the sole publication of all Music composed, or pretended to be composed, by the dilettanti members of the Society of the Temple of Apollo. Under this patent he published his own compositions, a Cantata and six songs of mine, as well as whatever I afterwards composed for the Playhouse.' The whole of the music for the pantomime Queen Mab, which

Garrick commissioned from the pretended society, was, in fact, composed by Burney.

From another passage it seems that Fanny's editing went so far as deliberate alteration of the original. Here is Burney's account of a story known only in Fanny's version: 'In the height of summer, I robbed my sleep of a few hours in order to meet some other boys at a Bowling-green: and used to tie a string to one of my great toes, which I put out at the window of my room, by which I was waked as soon as it was light, by an apprentice at next door.' Fanny's account begins: 'The ardour of young Burney for improvement was such as to absorb his whole being; and his fear lest a moment of daylight should be profitless led him to bespeak a labouring boy, who rose with the sun, to awaken him regularly with its dawn. . . .'

Among other documents are part of a commonplace book made at King's Lynn, which shows the range of Burney's interests from Roman warfare to Metastasio, and a list of his own musical compositions dated 24 October 1797. A résumé of his life up to 1760, written by Burney about the year 1804, gives some account of his early musical education during his first residence in Chester.

The first Music he learned was of Mr. Baker the Organist of the Cathedral [at Chester], who being distressed for an assistant during a fit of the Gout, taught [him] to play a Chant on the Organ before he knew his Gammut or the names of the keys. And this single chant, the first in Dr. Boyce's 1st. volume of Cathedral Music, was all that he was able to play to the Choir during his master's first fit of the Gout. Between that and another fit he learned his Gammut and a few more chants, and a couple of Handel's opera songs, 'Dove sei' [from *Rodelinda* 1725] and 'Gode l'alma' [presumably from *Ottone* 1722], which he performed without knowing a word of Italian or hardly a note of Music.

In three lively and informative letters, dated November 1808 and January 1809, to Louisa Harris, a daughter of 'Hermes' Harris of Salisbury, Burney discusses his daughter Sara's novel *Geraldine*, the music of Sacchini, his partiality for the key of E flat, and other matters light and serious.

P. J. WILLETTS

PICTOR IN CARMINE

THE printed books and manuscripts collected by Mr. J. W. Hely-Hutchinson are chiefly distinguished for the splendour of their bindings, some of which were published last year in a volume presented by the collector to the Roxburghe Club.¹ Last June Mr. Hely-Hutchinson gave fifty of the finest to Eton College in memory of his only son, who was killed in action in the Second World War, while to the British Museum he gave his manuscript of *Pictor in Carmine* (now numbered Add. MS. 48353). Of the thirteen known

copies this alone remained in private hands and in presenting it to the Museum, which had none, Mr. Hely-Hutchinson has done a notable service to the many antiquaries who work mainly in London. According to the preface (Add. MS. 48353, f. 1), the treatise was written to encourage the replacement, in the decoration of churches, of the secular and generally monstrous *picturarum ineptias* which were the subject of so much Romanesque art by a truly edifying pictorial system in which events in the New Testament were to be represented side by side with those events in the Old which were thought to have pre-figured them.² This 'typological' method of illustrating the Bible, best known from the *Biblia Pauperum* of the late thirteenth century and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* of 1324, probably owed its revival and rapid diffusion in the twelfth century to the example set by Abbot Suger,³ who used it in the new basilica of Saint-Denis dedicated in 1144. *Pictor in Carmine* proposes for each of 138 antitypes, or events in the New Testament, from two to twenty-one types, mostly events in the Old, but with a few drawn from Natural History (e.g. 'Sol lucet per medium vitri nec violat substantiam' for the Annunciation) or from the rites of the Church (e.g. 'Episcopus ordinat lectores in ecclesia' for Christ reading from Isaiah in the synagogue). A table of the antitypes and their types (f. 2) is followed by the main text (ff. 11-74), in which from two to eight hexameter couplets are offered as alternative explanations of each of the 510 types. These couplets were to be inscribed beside whichever of the type-scenes might be chosen to accompany the more familiar New Testament antitypes; for the latter it would suffice to add merely the names of the personages. As examples we may conveniently quote, since they are wanting in Add. MS. 48353, the last two of the three couplets which explain the last type ('Crucifixus Dominus in medio duorum latronum eum qui a dextris confitetur acceptat') of the 138th antitype ('Sedens Christus in iudicio statuit electos a dextris, reprobos a sinistris'), namely, 'De cruce latroni que premia reddis utrique,/Sessor, Christe, thrōni das genti congrua cuique', and 'De cruce, de sede, donas, rex Christe, ministros/Dispare mercede, dextros hinc, inde sinistros.'⁴ In a paper on *Pictor in Carmine* written in 1932⁵ the late Dr. M. R. James printed the preface and table and concluded that the author was a Cistercian—the preface echoes the views on art expressed by Saint Bernard in his *Apologia*,⁶ a defence of Cistercian austerity against attacks from Cluny—who must also have been an Englishman, since no manuscript is known outside England and the closest archaeological parallels are late twelfth-century paintings at Peterborough and windows at Canterbury, c. 1200-15.⁷ He was therefore inclined to accept the ascription, found in a copy once at Hereford, to Adam, Abbot c. 1200 of the Cistercian house of Dore in Herefordshire.⁸ Add. MS. 48353, with its two fine initials (ff. 1, 11), is an excellently preserved specimen of the best English calligraphy of the early thirteenth century (Pl. xxix), and although its provenance, like that of *Corpus Christi*

College, Cambridge, MS. 300, to which it is palaeographically akin, is unknown, the signature (f. 1) of the Yorkshire antiquary Col. Charles Fairfax (1598–1673), of Menston in the West Riding, points to the North. It was later MS. 11059 in Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection and it was from the version given by him in his Catalogue that M. Delisle⁹ reprinted the preface in his description of the Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 9961), which has a set of miniatures based on the paintings mentioned above. T. J. BROWN

¹ H. M. Nixon, *Twelve Books in Fine Bindings from the Library of J. W. Hely-Hutchinson*, 1953.

² Cf. Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, 1925, pp. 133–78, and H. Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*, 1925, pp. 120–53.

³ Cf. Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, 1928, pp. 151–85.

⁴ From Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 67, f. 85b.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, xciv (1951), pp. 141–66, pls. xxvi–xxix.

⁶ Migne, P.L., vol. cxxxii, cols. 915, 916. Whether or not the author was a Cistercian, the 'churches in which painting is allowed', for which he tells us his treatise was written, did not include those of the Cistercians, whose Chapters General forbade painting and sculpture in statutes of 1134, 1175?, 1213, and 1231. Comparable statutes against stained glass were made in 1134, 1159, and 1182. Cf. J. M. Canivez, 'Statuta Capitulum

Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis', vols. i–ii, in *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, fasc. 9–10, Louvain, 1933–4, and the catalogue of an exhibition, *Saint Bernard et l'art des Cisterciens*, Dijon, 1953, pp. 11–18.

⁷ M. R. James, 'On the Paintings formerly in the Choir at Peterborough', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, ix (1896–9), 178–94, and 'The Verses formerly inscribed on the Twelve Windows in the Choir at Canterbury', *Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, no. xxxviii, 1901.

⁸ Of two successive Abbots named Adam the first was alive in 1198, the second c. 1217: the writer was the second. He had been a Cluniac before he was a Cistercian (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, R.S., iv, p. 194); hence, perhaps, his sympathy for art. Cf. J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of writers of thirteenth-century England*, 1936, p. 4.

⁹ *Mélanges*, 1880, pp. 206, 207.

THE COTTON COLLECTION OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

IN the Department of Coins and Medals there is an interesting manuscript catalogue dated 1748 of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the cabinet of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631). This was compiled by the famous antiquary Samuel Pegge (1704–96), and was used a decade or so later by Andrew Gifford (1700–84) when he checked the collection on the occasion of its transfer to Montague House. It does not figure in a skeleton list of manuscript catalogues which was compiled in 1870, and a date stamped on the title-page suggests that it was acquired by the Department in the decade immediately preceding the last war.¹ Apparently it was unknown to Taylor Combe (1774–1826), and this would be a pretty conclusive argument for its having left the Museum archives before 1807 when Combe assumed charge of the Department of Antiquities, though it is worth remembering that until 1803 all coins and medals had come under the Department of Manuscripts.²

Pegge's motive in cataloguing the Cotton collection would appear to have been to secure it against further depredations. Both Obadiah Walker and Pegge attest to a persistent tradition that the Saxon coins illustrated by Speed were Cotton's, though Speed himself would not appear specifically to have claimed this except in the case of the 'British' coins. There is internal evidence, however, which suggests that Walker and Pegge had access to a good tradition, and we can only share the latter's regret that of the thirty-four coins illustrated by Speed in 1611 no fewer than nineteen had been abstracted from the Cotton cabinet in the course of the century immediately following the collector's death.³

In Pegge's day, the Cotton cabinet still contained 128 Saxon coins, many of them of prime importance, and of these 112 can be identified with certainty as being in the British Museum today. Of the remaining 16 that have apparently disappeared, 9 were missing by the time of Gifford's check, and 5 more would seem to have strayed before the last decade of the eighteenth century when Taylor Combe was beginning to collect material for his manuscript corpus of Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins completed in 1812. The original manuscript of this unpublished corpus would appear to have been lost, but fortunately a contemporary transcript was made by one Robert Bryer, and photostats of this were recently made available to the Museum through the kindness of Dr. E. C. Linton.⁴ The remaining 2 coins would appear to be sceattas, unlike the others which are exclusively pennies, but the descriptions of their types are far too ambiguous to allow of the identification of individual pieces. It is quite possible, however, that both coins are in fact in the Museum—not until 1838 did it become the rule for every coin to be accompanied by a ticket with a coded reference to provenance.

Gifford, on the other hand, was able to round up a number of Cotton coins that Pegge had either overlooked or been unable to recover, and all 13 of these are in the Museum today. It would appear, then, that Sir Robert Bruce Cotton's cabinet had comprised originally 160 Anglo-Saxon coins at the very least, and of these no fewer than 125 are still together in the British Museum trays. Of the balance, a few have trickled back to the National Collection by way of the great private collections of the past—though absolute certainty is impossible in every case. Others of the strays can be traced to other collections, and in particular the Hunterian Museum, but there are a few apparently unpublished coins that would seem completely to have disappeared. Some may see in this confirmation of the view held by more than one English numismatist that somewhere in this country there lurks at least one major eighteenth-century collection which has not seen the light of day since Taylor Combe and Ruding put English numismatics on a scientific basis.

Pegge's quaint preface merits transcription in full:

To Mr. David Casley, at ye. Cotton Library,

Dear Sir,

I fear it will be necessary for me to make some Apology for my being so long in sending you a Copy of the Catalogue of ye. Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Cotton Library, wch. under your Favour I made the last year. My Time has been so taken up of late with an Affair quite forreign to these Kind of studies, that it was indeed impossible for me to give you this. Token of my Respect much sooner; I hope you will pardon an unavoidable Delay.

As to ye. Catalogue itself, wth. wch. I here present you, the Coins I trust have been describ'd with sufficient Accuracy; All that were not in Frames have their weight annex'd, to half a Grain; But there is one Thing I must take some Notice of more particularly, which is, that I differ sometimes from Sr. Andrew Fountaine, Mr. Thoresby, Mr. Walker, Mr. Speed, & other Antiquarians, in appropriating the Coins to their respective Kings. This is indeed a material Point, but I have my Reasons for what I have done, wch. at this Time I can't be permitted to enter into, (for it wd. make this Epistle run out into too great a Length) but possibly I may find some future occasion to deduce them at large. In ye. Interim I shall only say, that as the Gentlemen above named seldom assign any Reasons for their opinions, we certainly may be at Liberty to dissent from them, and yt. I am, Sir, with great Respect,

your most obedient,
humble Servant,
SAMUEL PEGGE.

Godmersham

Feb. 13. 1748.

P.S. You will observe in perusing the Catalogue yt. Mr. Speed has engrav'd Some of these Coins. But whereas yt. Author has exhibited many that are not in this Collection 'tis to be fear'd yt. ye. Cotton Library has been plunder'd of part of its Treasure Some Time Since he liv'd. You have only 15 out of the 34 exemplified by him.

Pegge's complaint that his predecessors did not usually trouble to muster the evidence for their attributions will not be shared by the modern numismatist who has to wade through the moat of verbosity with which collectors of the first three decades of this century encompassed theories on Saxon numismatics as fanciful as those of Speed and Fountaine but without justification even in the then state of our knowledge. Speed had misattributed 13 of the 34 coins he illustrated, and out of the 112 coins that we can certainly identify, Pegge was in error in the case of 12. More remarkable still was the achievement of Taylor Combe. As regards the 125 Cotton coins known to him, few modern numismatists would quarrel with more than one or two of his attributions, and even in these cases it must be admitted that there still exists room for a legitimate difference of opinion.

Recently an attempt has been made to reconstruct the Cotton collection, and also to analyse the different elements of which it was composed. Much of this work is of a highly technical nature, and the results can be readily appreciated

only by the trained numismatist. It is perhaps sufficient here to remark that collectively the Cotton coins, the oldest surviving collection of Anglo-Saxon coins in the world, possess a significance that exceeds their individual importance, exceptional though the latter is in so many cases. One example may suffice to illustrate this. Until the great Rome finds of 1882 and 1928, coins of Edward the Elder (899-924) were notably rare, yet virtually one in four of the Cotton coins was of that reign. Of the so-called 'rare' types of that king, the Museum possessed only 20 specimens when the printed catalogue was published in 1893. Of these no fewer than 13 were from the Cotton cabinet. A recent paper has shown that the majority of the 'rare' types of Edward were struck only at the close of his reign and in the Chester-Shrewsbury-Derby triangle, and also that it is possible to break down the coinage of the tenth century into well-defined geographical and chronological groupings. On this telling, almost every one of Cotton's 38 pennies of Edward the Elder was struck in Mercia and in the latter half of his reign.

It emerges that Cotton had obtained a portion at least of a major hoard deposited early in the reign of Æthelstan (924-39), unearthed in the West Midlands and composed primarily of coins from local mints. In this connexion it is not without significance that Cotton's late tenth- and eleventh-century pennies with mint signature are almost invariably from places on or north of the Thames. The hoard is one as yet without parallel, and its reconstruction is throwing much light upon the organization of the new 'English' mints in the old Mercian kingdom. It also provides a most satisfactory control on the validity of the epigraphical, prosopographical, and stylistic arguments which have been used to resolve Edward's large coinage into its different elements. A coin from the 'Cotton hoard' is illustrated by Speed, and this shows that as early as 1611 a Saxon coin-hoard was the subject of intelligent antiquarian interest, while we cannot be too grateful to Cotton for having preserved a portion at least intact for the benefit of posterity. It is a strangely moving experience to pick out and place together once again coins that for seven centuries had lain cheek by jowl, and which during the past two centuries have not been recognized it would seem as coming from a single find.⁵

Plate xxx reproduces in its actual size page 11 of the Pegge manuscript which describes part of the 'hoard'. The coins in question are shown in the same order at the top of Plate xxxi (nos. 1-14). It will be noticed that no. 25 of Pegge's manuscript is missing, but that against it Gifford has written in the description of another—and fortunately far, far rarer piece—which he had recovered from an unknown plunderer. The little sketches are particularly charming, as are Pegge's comments 'a neat coin', 'but seems base mettle', &c. It is a pity that space precludes the reproduction of other pages where Pegge essays curious 'macaronic' descriptions of the types, his Latin rarely proving capable of record-

ing the essentials of both obverse and reverse. Quite characteristic too are Gifford's endorsements 'both brought to ye. Museum and put in', 'all put into ye Collection of ye Mus.', and 'Note. neither ye 9 or 10. came but the four following, viz.' &c. The weights given by Pegge are generally accurate within half a grain, Gifford's 'corrections' usually representing an improvement. Of the coins illustrated on Plate xxxi, nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, and 14 are all notable rarities. Nos. 5 and 10, incidentally, are masterpieces of the Mercian renaissance of the early tenth century. Coins of this type found their way to Rome, doubtless as part of the 'ælmesse' or 'Romescot', where they made such an impression that the reverse was copied on Papal coins.⁶

The remainder of Plate xxxi is devoted to some outstanding rarities from the rest of the Cotton collection. No. 17 is one of the rare pennies with the name of St. Martin that were struck at Lincoln during the last stages of the collapse of the first Danish invasion of England. It may well have come from the 'Cotton hoard', and the same is true of no. 18, a most interesting penny of Æthelstan (924-39) struck at York after the first expulsion of the Hiberno-Norwegian dynasty. We find the reverse type of this last coin also imitated at Rome.⁷ From the ninth century comes an interesting group of East Anglian pence, and again we may suspect that Cotton had secured part at least of a small find. Selected for illustration are pennies of Æthelweard (828-37) [no. 19] and of Eadmund, who was martyred by the Danes in 873 [no. 20]. After their failure to overrun Wessex, the Danes in East Anglia seem to have repented of the murder, for they issued a large coinage with the saint's name. Even today these coins are comparatively common only on account of their presence in large numbers in the 1840 Cuerdale Find, and it is notable that Cotton should have possessed two. The one illustrated [no. 21] is one of those that strayed in the seventeenth century. It was engraved by Speed—who attributed it fancifully to a much earlier king of Essex—and then disappeared completely. It was not known to Fountaine nor to Pegge nor to Taylor Combe at the time that he was compiling his corpus, but returned to the Museum during Combe's Keepership. No. 22 is a penny of the great recoinage undertaken by Eadgar (959-75) at the end of his reign. It was struck by a moneyer Leofsige at the mint of 'Hampton'. Until this year there would have been no agreement as to whether this was Northampton or Southampton, but a coin in the great Igelösa hoard from Sweden has proved to be the key to the whole mystery. Coins of 'Hampton' have to be divided between the two mints and not forced into one or the other, and in this case the evidence is all in favour of Northampton. No. 23 is an extremely rare mule which links Edward the Confessor's eighth and ninth issues. It was struck at Leicester by the moneyer Ægelric c. 1062.

The last Cotton coin on the plate [No. 24] is neither Saxon nor in the Museum, but is included because the contrary has so often been asserted. In 1639

Archbishop Ussher described a gold coin of King Lucius which he had seen with his own eyes 'inter D. Roberti Cottoni *κειμήλια*', King Lucius being a Christian prince supposed to have ruled in Britain under the Romans and to have been buried in Gloucester Cathedral in A.D. 156.⁸ Haddan and Stubbs in the nineteenth century finally exploded the myth, but in doing so alleged that the coin was in the British Museum, a curious lapse on their part as they cannot have seen the coin they condemned as a forgery, and do not appear to have appreciated that it had been engraved by Speed.⁹ More recently Dr. John Allan pointed out that it was not necessarily in the British Museum, but suggested that it could not be identified.¹⁰ It would seem that he too was unaware of Speed's engraving for he went on: 'The coins would be seventh century thrymsas or sceattas of a type struck in Frisia and Eastern England, B.M. *Cat. Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Pl. II, 19; III, 10. Ussher probably read LVC for AVG.' Admittedly Speed's engraving is without caption, but he uses it twice, once to head his chapter 'The First Planting of Religion in Britaine', and once to head 'The Originall Epistle of *Eleutherius* Bishop of Rome unto *Lucius* the first Christian King of BRITAIN'. Moreover, Speed specifically claimed that all his 'British' coins were from Sir Robert Cotton's collection. Consequently we must assume that the coin which heads the apposite portion of Speed's *History* is the coin which Archbishop Ussher saw in Cotton's cabinet.

The coin in question, which Ussher states to have been found in this country, is a Gallic stater struck by the tribe of the Antecavii who inhabited what is now Anjou. Gallic gold coins do occasionally turn up this side of the Channel, but this is the only Antecavic stater so far to be reported. The coins are not common even in France, and there is one and one only in an English collection. This is in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, perhaps the finest eighteenth-century private collection to be preserved intact. Combe accepted it as an Ancient British coin, and there can be little doubt but that the Hunter coin is the one seen by Ussher and given by Speed and Walker to the legendary Lucius.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ The date appears to be 20 September 1934.

² For the early history of the Department see the recent article by Dr. John Walker, *B.M.Q.* xviii (1953), 76-80.

³ It is perhaps worth remarking that in nearly every case the Museum has subsequently acquired either the original coin or a die-duplicate—in the latter event thanks largely to the operation of the regulations concerning treasure-trove.

⁴ The original of the Bryer transcript is now in the Library of the British Numismatic Society.

⁵ The great weakness of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins is its failure to record provenance. A recent check through some

nineteenth-century registers has brought to light the existence in the Museum of quite unpublished hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins from Ireland, Rome, and Russia.

⁶ Cf. C. E. Blunt, *B.N.F.* xxv (1949), 282-5.

⁷ Blunt, *ibid.* At least three major finds of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coins are known from Rome, and in each case they are linked with the 'ælmesse' or 'Romescot'. This annual payment was probably instituted by Alfred. A forthcoming paper will show how at first the payment included coins of a novel denomination inscribed *ELIMO* (sina), and that these coins, of which the only two extant examples are in the British Museum, rank

as the first multiples of the Carolingian 'novus denarius' ever to be struck, antedating by several centuries the 'gros', 'grosso', and 'groat'. The experiment was not a success, and in the tenth century the sole medium of the 'ælmesse' was the penny—hence its availability as a model for the papal die-cutter.

⁸ For the Lucius myth cf. T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, London, 1949, *passim*, cf. Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, Dublin, 1639, pp. 39-40.

⁹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.*, London, 1869-73, vol. i, Appendix A, p. 26.

¹⁰ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 113, n. 3.

AN INSCRIBED BRONZE BOX FROM EGYPT

THE recovery of an antiquity which has been seen and noted in modern times, but the whereabouts of which have subsequently become unknown, must always give pleasure to the archaeologist even though the information offered by the antiquity may have remained available to him after its disappearance. Of such a kind is the bronze box illustrated on Plate xxxii a (H. 6.5 cm., W. 7.25 cm.), which was seen at the end of the last century by Monsieur Georges Bénédite, formerly Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre, who recorded that it was then in the possession of a dealer in Paris.¹ Nothing is known about its subsequent history until it reappeared in the sale of a private collection in London in 1947,² when it was bought by the Trustees for the Egyptian collection of this Museum (No. 64365). In the intervening years, however, the lid, which was present when the object was seen by Monsieur Bénédite, had become separated from the box and has not yet come to light.

Before attempting to explain the purpose of the box it is necessary to examine the inscription, which, in its original condition, was very probably inlaid with gold or silver. The first two lines were engraved on the lid³ and gave the names of the Divine Adoratrix, Shepenupet (deceased), and the Divine Consort, Nitocris (living), followed by the name and titles of a certain Pedihorresnet, who is again mentioned in the inscription on the box. This inscription reads as follows:

May Khons in Thebes Neferhotep and Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, give life, preservation, health, happiness and joy every day and a goodly burial to the Scribe and Chamberlain of the Divine Adoratrix, Harsiesis, son of the Hereditary Prince and Count, Governor of Upper Egypt and Controller of the Deserts in Thebes,⁴ High Steward of the Divine Adoratrix, Pedihorresnet, son of the Chief of the Scribes and Chamberlain of the Divine Adoratrix, Akhamenru, deceased.

Much has been written in recent years about the five remarkable women (Shepenupet I, Amenirdis, Shepenupet II, Nitocris, and Ankhnesneferibre) who held office as 'Divine Consort' of Amun at Thebes during a period of more than 200 years in which twelve kings succeeded one another on the throne of Egypt.⁵ To summarize even the most important results of these investigations would be

beyond the scope of the present article, but a brief sketch of the historical background of the office and of its general nature may help in explaining the inscription and may suggest the purpose of the box. From the latter part of the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards the High Priests of Amun at Thebes occupied a position of such power that they were able to cause grave embarrassment to several of the weaker kings and, on occasion, to usurp royal prerogatives. Various remedial measures were tried, ranging from the suppression of the cult of Amun by Akhenaten to the appointment of royal princes as High Priests, but none seems to have been attended by any lasting success until Osorkon III (*c.* 757-748 B.C.) reduced the high priesthood to a purely sacerdotal office and appointed his daughter Shepenupet 'Divine Consort' and 'Divine Adoratrix' of Amun with control over the vast revenues which accrued from the temple estates. The system was continued by the Ethiopian kings, who governed Egypt during the XXVth Dynasty (*c.* 751-656 B.C.), and by the native kings of the XXVIth Dynasty (*c.* 663-525 B.C.). 'Divine Consorts' were precluded from marriage by this position in relation to the god Amun; just as Mut was his heavenly wife so the 'Divine Consort' was considered as his earthly wife. Succession to the office was marked by the formal adoption of a princess by the reigning 'Divine Consort' during her lifetime, the relationship between the two women being that of a step-mother and her adopted daughter. Thus Nitocris, who is mentioned on the lid of this box, was the actual daughter of Psammetichus I and his queen Mehetenusekhet and was the adopted daughter of the 'Divine Consort' Shepenupet II.⁶ The adoption occurred in the ninth year of her father's reign (*c.* 654 B.C.); Shepenupet II may have lived for many years after this event, for there is no proof of her death before the twenty-sixth regnal year of Psammetichus I. Nitocris herself held office for the remainder of his reign, throughout the reigns of Necho and Psammetichus II and until her death in the fourth year of Apries (*c.* 584 B.C.). Her powers and duties, like those of all her predecessors and her sole successor Ankhnesneferibre, were largely confined to the region of Thebes, where her authority was second only to that of the king. In order to assist her, especially in temporal affairs, she had a staff of officials, notably the High Steward, Chamberlain, Treasurer, Chief of the Granaries, judicial officers, and various orders of scribes; lesser officials included craftsmen and a body of female attendants called Singers in the Temple of Amun. The inscription on the box mentions three generations of one family who held two of the highest positions under Nitocris, the Chamberlain Harsiesis, his father the High Steward Pedihorresnet, and his deceased grandfather the Chamberlain Akhamenru. It is evident therefore that the box was made while Pedihorresnet was High Steward, an office which he is known to have held during the reign of the king Necho,⁷ and thus it may be dated within a period of fifteen years beginning in 609 B.C. and ending in 594 B.C.

It must be admitted that the inscription, valuable though it is for dating and for showing personal connexions, throws little direct light on the purpose of the box. Fortunately, however, one other object of this kind, complete and technically remarkably fine, has been preserved and is now in the Egyptian collection of the Louvre.⁸ Within it is contained an ivory tablet which has not yet been examined because it has not been possible to remove it from the box, but there can be little doubt that the box which has now reached this collection was made to hold a similar tablet.

A feature common to both boxes which may possess some significance is the dedication, not to Amun, as might have been expected, but to Khons and Thoth. In the British Museum box the two gods are treated separately, whereas in the Louvre specimen they are regarded as one composite deity. Instances of this particular syncretism, although rare until Ptolemaic times, are found at an earlier date than the time of Nitocris,⁹ one hitherto unrecorded case occurring on a small limestone figure of a baboon (H. 16.5 cm.) which was recently presented to this Museum by Lady Rhondda (No. 65516, Pl. xxxii b). The pedestal, on which the figure is mounted, is inscribed on the front with the names of King Sheshonq III (c. 823-772 B.C.) and on the sides with a mutilated text which begins with the formula 'Words spoken by Khons-Thoth'. Both gods were associated with the moon so that assimilation was not unnatural, but as a rule the composite deity was represented in the human form of Khons.¹⁰ In this instance the baboon, which was particularly closely associated with Thoth, has prevailed. Khons-Thoth no doubt possessed some of the characteristics of both deities, notably that of Thoth as the god of writing. Perhaps, therefore, the tablets encased within the two bronze boxes were model writing-palettes, which, if correct, would explain why they were both the property of scribal officials.¹¹

I. E. S. EDWARDS

¹ Bénédict's description of the box was published in *Monuments Piot*, vii (1901), 116-17.

² Catalogue of Antiquities, the property of H. Gordon Bois, Lot 77, sold by Messrs. Sotheby & Co., 10 June 1947.

³ For the knowledge of the inscription on the lid I am indebted to J. Leclant and Madame Noblecourt, who have kindly given me a photograph of the box, taken before the two members were separated.

⁴ This title, which is rare, was also borne by Mentuemhet, the famous Governor of Thebes under Taharqa, and his two successors Tanutamen and Psammetichus I. See Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, p. 355.

⁵ Notably C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottes-*

weib des Amun (Copenhagen, 1940), Helene von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten* (in A. Scharff, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 14, Glueckstadt, 1944, pp. 63-74), M. Lichtheim, *The High Steward Akhamenru in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vii (1948), 163-79, and H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat* (Leiden, 1953).

⁶ The details of Nitocris's adoption are recorded on a stela, now in the Cairo Museum, translated by J. H. Breasted in *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, 481-8.

⁷ M. Lichtheim, op. cit., p. 163; J. Leclant, 'Le Prêtre Pekiry et son fils, le Grand Majordome Akhamenrou', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, xiii (1954), 155.

⁸ Ch. Boreux, *Département des Antiquités*

égyptiennes, Guide-Catalogue sommaire (1932), ii. 353; J. Vandier, *Les Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée du Louvre* (1948), p. 69; G. Bénédite, op. cit., pp. 105-11; J. Capart, *L'Art égyptien, Choix de documents*, iv. 46. I am greatly indebted to Professor Leclant for showing me the description of this box which will appear in his forthcoming work *Enquête sur les sacerdoxes et les sanctuaires égyptiens sous la XXVème dynastie*.

⁹ P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*,

p. 206, n. 1.

¹⁰ P. Montet, *Kémi*, xii (1952), 69-76, publishes a granite figure found by himself at Tanis in which Khons is represented in the form of a baboon.

¹¹ A different explanation has, however, been suggested for the tablet in the Louvre box, namely, that it may bear an inscription referring to the adoption of the Divine Consort by her predecessor (J. Vandier, op. cit.).

SOME ROCK CRYSTALS OF THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

THE carving of rock crystal has challenged the skill of craftsmen from the master of the Mycene crystal to Carl Fabergé. It is a material that does not readily submit to chisel and drill, is hard to procure and then only in small pieces, but is a delight to the eye and to the touch. Small objects and ornaments fashioned from this mineral occur widely scattered in time and place over four continents; but only in Egypt during the early Middle Ages and in Europe in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries is the number of surviving examples sufficient to establish the existence of veritable schools of rock-crystal carving and to make possible a study of the development of this art.

There exist just under 170 carved crystals of the Islamic period. With few exceptions, these have been generally attributed to Egypt though references in literature seem to suggest that objects of rock crystal were produced in other parts of the Islamic world; and that objects of this kind were known in Syria and Mesopotamia in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. The great polymath al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), who wrote a work on minerals, tells of rock crystal carving being imported from East Africa and the Laccadive and Maldivé Islands to Basra where it was carved.¹ Possibly there was a tradition of rock crystal in Iraq, for among the glass finds from Samarra in the British Museum are fragments of vessel handles in so-called 'crystal glass'. These are sharply faceted and the manner of handling suggests that of crystal carving.² But in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to establish an Iraqi or Syrian provenance for any one crystal.

There are three reasons for an Egyptian attribution. First, the evidence of two inscribed pieces; a ewer in the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice, bearing a dedicatory inscription to the Fatimid Caliph, al-'Azīz (975-96) and a crescent-shaped piece in the German Museum at Nuremberg inscribed with the name of the Caliph az-Zāhir (1021-36).³ Secondly, contemporary accounts; that of the Persian traveller, Nāsir-i Khusraw, who visited Egypt at intervals between 1046 and 1050 and speaks of the fine rock crystal vessels produced and sold in the

Cairo bazaar,⁴ and an eyewitness's description of the palace treasures of the Caliph al-Mustanşir (1036-94).⁵ Thirdly, evidence of style; many of the elements accord with the repertory of Egyptian art in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The ewer in the Treasury of St. Mark's, mentioned above, provides a convenient starting-point for the chronology of the Egyptian rock crystals. Associated with it, are six other ewers and various other pieces forming a group which must represent the highest point achieved in this art. That crystals continued to be produced in the following century is shown by the az-Zāhir piece and the literary references already cited. It is reasonable to assume that production did not long survive the troubled years of the middle of al-Mustanşir's reign, for in 1062 Turkish and Arab mercenaries plundered the Caliph's palaces and among the loot which was dispersed were rare crystals. No doubt it was as a result of this event that many pieces found their way into the treasuries of European churches where they were adapted for use as reliquaries, although according to church inventories some had already reached Europe as early as the second half of the tenth century.

The splendid achievements of the craftsmen working in the last quarter of the tenth century must have been the outcome of a long prelude of tradition and experience. On this assumption, Dr. Kurt Erdmann has recently proposed a tentative chronology in which he assigns the earliest group to the middle of the ninth century.⁶ With this in mind, the four Islamic crystals in the Museum are published. Two of these are already known, the other two have appeared in no previous publication.

A cylindrical flask (Pl. xxxiii a) was acquired by the Museum in 1894 and is said to have come from a Byzantine church in Calabria.⁷ It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, excluding the gilt-metal lid which is certainly a later addition. The body is decorated with three bands of carved ornament. The two narrow bands have diagonal and vertical grooves; the broad band consists of a motive, three times repeated, of a full palmette flanked by a pair of hanging split palmettes with fronds turned inwards. Around the neck are two sharply profiled flanges; and the base tapers steeply from a similar flange, terminating in a circular pad foot the diameter of which is appreciably smaller than that of the body. The circular boring $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter continues to this lowest flange.

The outlines of the decoration are cut slightly slantwise and the components fill the entire surface without any intervening background. The same features occur in the so-called 'bevelled' style of the Samarra stucco decoration and Erdmann has attributed a group of crystals reflecting this style to the period of Tulunid rule in Egypt (868-935). The Tulunid dynasty, whose founder was a member of the Caliph's pretorian guard in Samarra, introduced this style into Egypt, and the decoration in the mosque built by Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlun in Cairo in

876-9 reveals very clearly Mesopotamian influences. There is good reason to include the British Museum flask in this group.

Another interesting piece recently acquired by the Department through the generosity of Mr. P. T. Brooke Sewell is an ampulla in the form of a fish which was formerly in the Kelekian collection (Pl. xxxiv *b*). It is 4 inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and is unfortunately fractured at the head, tail, and back. It represents a fish, perhaps of the perch family, with high back and two dorsal fins represented by parallel grooves and what appears to be a ventral fin in the form of a lancet leaf. The head, of which the forepart is fractured, is divided from the body by a deep groove, and the rayed tail by a raised band with notched ornament. On each side of the fish a palmette flanked by upright half palmettes is carved in relief similar to a type of frieze decoration found in the stuccoes and wood carvings of Samarra and Tulunid Egypt.⁸ A cylindrical boring runs from the head up to the tail.

Ten other rock crystals carved in the form of a fish are known and fall into two distinct groups, the one naturalistic and the other a mere adumbration of the fish form. The Museum's example is among the most naturalistic of the first group. The fish was a popular decorative motive in the Islamic world; and the Department possesses a small glass phial in the form of a fish said to have been found in Samarra and thus of ninth-century date.⁹ At a later period swimming fish were often represented in the bases of inlaid bronze or brass vessels and Kashan pottery and again on the enamelled glass of Syria. Because the cutting of the ornament is in relief and not in the bevelled style, it is suggested that this piece belongs to the transitional period between the Tulunid style and the fully developed style of the al-'Azīz period.

Another cylindrical flask (Pl. xxxiii *b*) belongs to the Franks Bequest,¹⁰ and by courtesy of the Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities is temporarily exhibited with the other three in the Asiatic Saloon. It is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches high and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The silver mounts are European work, probably of the fifteenth century. According to the nielloed inscription it contained a hair of the Virgin. The only decoration is a band of Kufic (Pl. xxxiii *c*) carved in relief round the middle of the flask: 'Blessing to its owner.' There are sharply profiled flanges at the junction of shoulder and neck, the base of the neck and between the body and tapering base which terminates in a foot similar to that of the larger flask already described. The shape resembles that of a crystal flask in the church at Borghorst in Westphalia which forms part of a wooden cross apparently dating from before 1014.¹¹ The Museum's flask may therefore be assigned to about the middle of the tenth century.¹²

Another ampulla (Pl. xxxiv *a*) which reached the Museum in the Franks Bequest is in the form of a crouching lion.¹³ It is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. The features are carved in relief; muzzle and mane are represented by

hatched lines, eyes by two ovals with concave surfaces, set slantwise. The articulation of the forequarters is emphasized by a lancet leaf and of the hindquarters by a curling scroll ending in a split palmette with two secondary leaves issuing from the base and the tip. There is a circular boring $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter running from the chest of the animal to within $\frac{3}{8}$ inch of the back. A vertical boring half-way along the body is clearly a later addition.

Of the thirteen other crystals carved in this shape that which most nearly resembles the one under discussion is in the treasury of the Church of St. Ursula in Cologne and is a crouching lion with extended forepaws which in the Franks piece are broken and missing.¹⁴ The spirited scrolls of the hindquarters are unusual and judging from an indistinct photograph are similar to the palmette on a crystal sphere, perhaps a macehead, which forms part of the decoration of a crucifix presented to the Munsterkirche of Essen by the Abbess Matilda (ruled 937–82).¹⁵ This would suggest that the lion is a work of the first half of the tenth century. Both the precise cutting and the style anticipate that of the Al-'Azīz crystals.

Postscript. Since the writing of this article the Museum's collection has been further enriched by the acquisition of an Islamic rock crystal goblet of outstanding interest and importance, the gift of Mr. P. T. Brooke Sewell. This will be the subject of a detailed study in a future number of the *British Museum Quarterly*.

R. H. PINDER-WILSON

¹ P. Kahle, 'Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch von el-Bērūnī', in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xc (1936), 332.

² C. J. Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 193–5, nos. 189–91; 193–5, Abb. 38–39.

³ C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* (hereafter cited as Lamm), Taf. 67:1, 75:21. Lamm gives references to photographic reproductions.

⁴ *Sefer Nameh*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer (Paris, 1881), p. 149.

⁵ P. Kahle, 'Die Schätze der Fatimiden', in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxxix (1935), 329–62. The account is contained in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭāṭ*.

⁶ K. Erdmann, 'Fatimid Rock Crystals', in *Oriental Art*, iii (1951), 142–6.

⁷ It is mentioned in Sir Hercules Read and A. D. Tonnochy, *Catalogue of Silver Plate in the British Museum* (Franks Bequest) (London, 1928) on p. 8, no. 18.

⁸ Zaky M. Hassan, *Al-Fann al-Islāmi fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1935, i, pl. 33.

⁹ Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra*, p. 14, Abb. 1.

¹⁰ Read and Tonnochy, op. cit., p. 8, no. 18; Lamm, Taf. 68:14; M. H. Longhurst, 'Some Crystals of the Fatimid Period' in *Burlington Magazine*, xlviii (1926), p. 150, pl. iic.

¹¹ Lamm, Taf. 68:9.

¹² The style of Kufic would not preclude this date. The distinguishing features are the upward curl of the re and the semicircular ligature below the base line, both of which are found in textile tiraz as early as the second half of the ninth century, and are common in Egyptian funerary inscriptions about the middle of the tenth century.

¹³ Lamm, Taf. 75:17, Longhurst, op. cit., p. 150, pl. iib.

¹⁴ Lamm, Taf. 75:16.



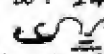
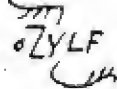
¹⁵ Lamm, Taf. 75:10. The photographic reproduction is in E. aus'm Weerth, *Kunstdenkmäler des christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden* (Leipzig, 1857–60), ii, p. 31, pl. 39:9.



XXVII. WOODCUTS FROM THE *VITA CHRISTI*, LISBON, 1495



Al̃ dān þe pomeburz ze t̃mbred ƿar .iii.
hunde p̃ncpa . 7 l̃un . on f̃amdaȝū þe ȝallie poma
ap̃t̃ h̃apdon . þa ȝe f̃apd ƿf̃o m̃aȝte ȝibb 7 ƿf̃
biȝm̃thleceȝte be t̃p̃h l̃æcedemonium ī p̃calon
de 7 ƿf̃p̃um aȝf̃a þe þe l̃æce d̃omanie h̃apdon ƿf̃p̃e
oȝt op̃p̃un ñl̃n . þa ȝe b̃udon him ƿf̃p̃e þæt . hie h̃apd l̃n
.iii. p̃ncp̃ ȝibbe ƿf̃ hie ȝe ƿæt ƿolde 7 ȝe ƿe . 7 nolde
þæt hie ƿolde þa mid ȝe f̃olde ȝe f̃ecan . hie þa l̃æcedemo
ñ 7 l̃uſt l̃ice þæt ȝe ȝibbe h̃i ƿumodan ƿo ƿf̃am l̃ydan ȝe
þe him mon ȝe b̃ad . on þam mon m̃aȝ ƿf̃otole on c̃up̃n l̃u
micelne ƿillan h̃ie t̃dām ȝe p̃inne h̃apdon ƿf̃ h̃ap̃a ƿo ƿap̃
on h̃ap̃a l̃ædum ȝiddl̃ñde ȝindon 7 on h̃ap̃a l̃ay ƿel
l̃ūzum . ne ȝe þ̃iñd þe ƿelc ȝe p̃innol̃t . l̃uſt b̃aȝe ƿad
op̃oȝuȝ ne þ̃uȝda þon mu þæt ȝe him h̃i ƿind m̃aȝe
ƿf̃uȝe h̃i mid ƿo ƿum ȝe f̃aȝl̃a . 7 aȝf̃a þam þe l̃æce
de monie h̃apdon op̃p̃un non aȝf̃a þa b̃urz h̃ap̃a
aȝf̃a l̃æde . h̃i h̃e þa up̃uhoȝon 7 p̃innan unȝinnan on l̃e
ce healt̃e h̃ap̃a ȝe ƿid h̃ap̃a aȝf̃a ƿolc ȝe ƿid ƿe ȝe ƿid þa
l̃ay ƿan unȝam ȝe ƿid aȝf̃a þa b̃urz þe h̃e aȝf̃a up̃l̃tan ƿo
don þa ƿap̃an þe þa ut op̃f̃l̃uȝon h̃apdon l̃t̃ þa b̃urz ȝe b̃uñ
7 h̃apdon thebane ſpeca l̃æde him on ƿl̃t̃ū aȝf̃onon . l̃æce
de monie ƿeȝon ƿf̃u up̃p̃ aȝf̃a þe f̃aȝl̃a h̃e ȝe ƿf̃ p̃andon
ȝe ealle d̃aneu h̃e ƿad þæt h̃e op̃f̃ h̃e ealle m̃ehte an
ƿald habban . ac him aȝf̃a h̃e mid thebana ƿl̃t̃ū
ƿid f̃odon 7 h̃e mid ȝe ƿl̃t̃e h̃i ȝe d̃u . aȝf̃a þam l̃æce
de monie ȝe ƿunon him to l̃æce ȝe ƿecl̃uȝ ƿf̃ h̃aȝl̃n
7 h̃ie ȝindon on ƿe mid ƿl̃t̃ū ȝe ƿid h̃e to ȝe ƿl̃t̃ū
h̃e . him þa ƿf̃p̃e mid h̃ap̃a t̃p̃am ealdon monnum on ȝun
coman . op̃f̃ h̃aȝe ƿap̃nabu ƿf̃ . op̃f̃ h̃i ȝe ƿap̃on . ƿon aȝf̃
ƿap̃a l̃æce de monia l̃æce ȝe ƿf̃e f̃ he ƿid þa t̃p̃am h̃ap̃
ȝe f̃olde him þa ƿad l̃æce ȝe ƿl̃t̃e f̃ he ƿid op̃f̃ h̃e ƿid ȝuñe

15. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{VV} & \text{TL} \\ + & + \\ \text{H} & \text{HO} \end{matrix} \} 26 \text{ gr.}$
16. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{VVEF} \\ + & + \\ \text{RED} & \text{HO} \end{matrix} \} 20 \text{ gr.}$
17. Obverse as above. Reverse. $\begin{matrix} \text{BEAHS} \\ + & + \\ \text{TAN} & \text{HO} \end{matrix} \} 25 \text{ gr. } \frac{1}{2}$
18. Obverse as above. Reverse. $\begin{matrix} \text{VVAR} \\ + & + \\ \text{MER} & \text{MO} \end{matrix} \} 23 \frac{1}{2}$
19. Obverse as above. \mathcal{R} very neat, something like this  $\} 23 \frac{1}{2}$
HEREMOD
20. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{BEORM} \\ + & + \\ \text{EREMO} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 24 \text{ gr. } \frac{1}{2}$
21. Obverse as above. Reverse. $\begin{matrix} \text{BURH} \\ + & + \\ \text{ELM} & \text{MO} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 24 \text{ gr. } \frac{1}{2}$
22. Obv. as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{EADE} \\ + & + \\ \text{REDI} & \text{O} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 22 \text{ gr. but a small piece is broken off } 20 \frac{1}{2}$
23. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{HEIENF} \\ + & + \\ \text{RED} & \text{HO} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 24 \frac{1}{2} \text{ gr.}$
24. Obverse as above. \mathcal{R} very neat on y wife  $\text{wt. } 25 \text{ gr.}$
10 FERHN
25. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{EADMV} \\ + & + \\ \text{ND} & \text{MO} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 24 \frac{1}{2} \} \mathcal{R} \text{ almost like } 31 \frac{1}{2} \text{ wt.}$
 $\begin{matrix} \text{IR} & \text{FA} \\ \text{RA} & \text{MO} \end{matrix} \} 18 \text{ gr.}$
26. Obverse as above. Reverse. $\text{BOILIA} \text{ wt. } 25 \frac{1}{2} \text{ a neat Coin. } 25$
27. Obv. as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{ABBA} \\ + & + \\ \text{MON} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 25 \frac{1}{2} - 25$
28. Obverse as above. \mathcal{R} very neat,  $\text{wt. } 25 \text{ gr. } 24 \frac{1}{2}$
OZLYF
29. Obv. as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{IVAMO} \\ + & + \\ \text{META} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 24 \text{ gr. } 23$
30. Obverse as above. $\mathcal{R} \begin{matrix} \text{EBELV} \\ + & + \\ \text{VINE} & \text{MO} \end{matrix} \text{ wt. } 26 \frac{1}{2} \text{ gr. but seems like a little } 25 \frac{1}{2}$



XXXI. ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM THE COTTON COLLECTION



a



b

XXXII. *a*. INSCRIBED BRONZE BOX, SAITE PERIOD, c. 600 B.C.

b. SQUATTING BABOON OF KHONS-THOTH INSCRIBED WITH THE NAMES OF SHESHONQ III, c. 823-772 B.C.



a



c

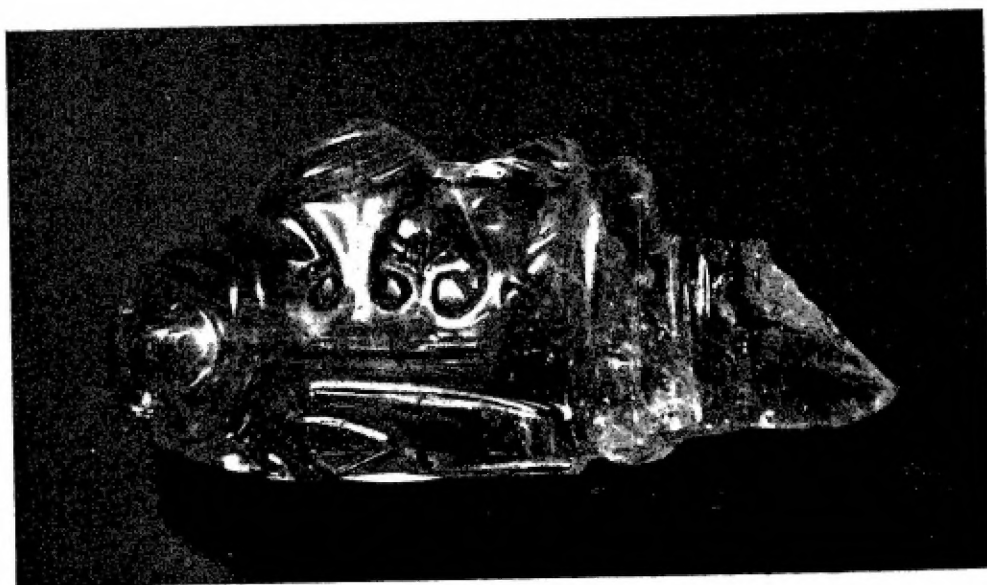


b

XXXIII. ROCK CRYSTALS OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD



a



b

XXXIV. ROCK CRYSTALS OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD





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